

SPREADING GERMS OF HATE

By GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK
GLIMPSES OF THE GREAT

By GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK
and PAUL ELDRIDGE

MY FIRST TWO THOUSAND YEARS:
The Autobiography of the Wandering Jew
SALOME: The Wandering Jewess.

"CANADA'S GOLGOTHA": THE CRUCIFIXION OF A CANADIAN SOLDIER.

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THE MOST TRAGIC RECORD IN THE CANADIAN WAR MEMORIALS EXHIBITION: "CANADA'S GOLGOTHA," A SCULPTURE GROUP BY CAPTAIN DERWENT WOOD, A.R.A.

CANADA'S GOLGOTHA

By CAPTAIN DERWENT WOOD, A.R.A.

Frontispiece

Spreading Germs of Hate

by
George Sylvester Viereck

With a Foreword by
Colonel Edward M. House

Duckworth

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FOREWORD

By COLONEL EDWARD M. HOUSE

WHEN the World War was raging, and charges false and true were made by one belligerent nation against another, few would have been willing to prophesy that eleven years after peace had been made there would be found any one who had been in the thick of the contest who would write of it so calmly and so fairly as George Sylvester Viereck has done in this book.

Spreading Germs of Hate will remind us how foolish and partisan we can be in times of high emotional tension. Those of us who were privileged to go from one belligerent state to another before the United States declared war in 1917, know how absurd were most of the many charges and countercharges made by each of them. In Berlin and Vienna the same variations, as those current in Paris and London were accepted with like credulity. Undoubtedly, spies and partisans were sent out in numbers by all the belligerent countries to obtain such information as was possible from their adversaries. Cruelties, too, were practised; but those who offended most in this direction suffered most from the righteous reaction of neutral public opinion against them.

But the whole terrible thing called war is cruel, and is exaggerated, if that is possible, by inflaming the imagination by propaganda which regards neither facts nor truth. I recall a conversation with President Wilson on this subject. He earnestly hoped the United States would be spared this evil that usually

follows a declaration of war. He did what he could to inform America upon the real issues at stake, and the high reasons there were for our participating in the World War. But his efforts were futile. As soon as our people were asked to purchase Liberty bonds, which were issued in unprecedented quantities, as many lurid stories were told by our patriotic orators, and as many ghastly cartoons were printed, as were to be found in Europe.

Now that the world has become calm and reason once more rules, we can read with pleasure and interest such a book as Mr. Viereck has written, and wonder how and why we so nearly lost our balance during the trying days of the Great War.

In writing this Foreword I do not assume responsibility for Mr. Viereck's facts, nor do I concur in all of his opinions and conclusions, but I welcome the spirit with which he has undertaken his task.

EDWARD M. HOUSE

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To
PROFESSOR SIGMUND FREUD
WHO HAS TAUGHT US TO
KNOW WITHOUT DESPISING
OURSELVES

INTRODUCTION

THE World War lured me from Parnassus. I gave up ten years of my creative life—for what? To be a footnote in history!

It was my intention to relate my exploits in the battle of propaganda some day as a chapter of my autobiography. However, the shrewdest editor in the United States persuaded me that the inside story of propaganda was of peculiar significance to-day. World power brings new perils. Propagandists ever sow the dragons' teeth of war. A knowledge of the methods by which propagandists spread germs of hate should enable us to read startling revelations between the lines of the historians and of history. It may help to save our faltering feet from future pitfalls.

My friend the editor suggested that the intrusion of my personality would make my reminiscences too controversial. Accepting his wise counsel, I wrote a series of anonymous articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* in which I dealt with my own propaganda activities in the third person. I was dumbfounded to discover how this method enabled me to maintain a detached point of view, even toward myself.

I made no attempt to conceal clues to my identity. Nevertheless, it remained a secret for months. Colonel Edward M. House, the one man in the world who has looked behind the curtain on every front, said to me: "I thought of you as the last person in the world capable of writing so dispassionate a history of the events in which you yourself played so stirring a part." I

need not here speak for Mr. House. In the Foreword which he has so graciously written the Colonel voices his own convictions.

A distinguished expert on propaganda, Edward L. Bernays, told me that my articles mystified him completely. "At first," he said, "I suspected George Creel of being the author. I then thought of Samuel G. Blythe and Will Irwin. Once or twice I seemed to detect the fine Italian hand of an Englishman familiar with the intricate machinery of propaganda. I never, even remotely, suspected you."

To write of my activities in the third person singular was an amusing experience. I am afraid I cannot rewrite my observations in the first person without destroying the perspective so laboriously achieved. I adhered to the same impersonal method when, subsequently, my articles grew into a book. Much of what I relate here, especially the account of the interrelations between propagandists and politicians, has never been published in any form.

Propaganda is the primary weapon of the world's invisible government. The microbes it scatters infect humanity like a plague. My book is an attempt to administer an antidote or a serum against this scourge by inculcating Propaganda Resistance. No one can escape the propagandist. But if we become propaganda-conscious, we may in time develop a measurable degree of immunity. With this object in view, I narrate here, for the first time, the part played by propaganda in the United States during and after the War.

We can best visualize the machinery employed to shape our thoughts and our actions by an unprejudiced survey of the contending groups which made our country a battle ground long before we ourselves were engulfed in the bloody maelstrom. It is incumbent upon us to examine critically the interplay of German, British, Irish, and French propaganda with

forces indigenous to our soil. We must not neglect the manipulation of opinion in neutral countries and at the front. Our tale would be but half told if we ignored peace and post-war propaganda. I shall not touch upon the use of propaganda by financiers and international bankers. This opens up another phase which deserves a book in itself.

On the subject of German propaganda, most authors rely upon the hodgepodge of sensation-mongering newspapers and officials. Of Allied activities, little seems to be known. Standard works on propaganda do not even mention the name of the propagandist-in-chief of Great Britain in the most crucial period of the World War. Though I draw freely upon all available sources of information, this book embodies, in the main, my own experience.

In the course of my investigation, I discussed the topic with Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen and Irishmen who played an eminent part in the great game of propaganda. Some of the men who enliven these pages have paid me the compliment of reading my manuscript and of refreshing my memory. Without accepting my essentially American point of view, propagandists in all camps conceded the authenticity of my data and the impartiality of my presentation.

If I do not turn the other cheek to those who have, at one time or another reviled me, I have no wish to inflict injury upon a living soul. I do not care to even old scores. If this book contains dynamite, I explode it not to work havoc but to clear away much poisonous rubbish. I would not have been able to face the entire problem of war and war hate objectively if I had not been inspired by Freud's masterly analysis of the subject. He taught me to dig down deep into my own heart and into the hearts of others without being shocked by the dire shapes that lurk in the subconscious. Ten thousand years of civilization have

not extirpated the primitive savage and the ruthless criminal in humankind. Man has not fallen so low as we feared because he had never risen so high as we hoped.

Some of my friends, whose hearts are still in the trenches, cannot forgive me for being forgiving. They expect me to harbour for ever the rancours and raptures of war. To them I reply with this little poem, written after sitting metaphorically at the feet of Colonel House and listening to his astonishing disclosures ;

I fought for what I deemed the right.
I saw the Truth. I was her knight.
My foemen, too, were thus aflame,
Blind chessmen in the obscure game
Of some malign divinity.
Now, with unfolding eyes, we see
The paradox of every fight,
That both are wrong and both are right,
That friend is foe and foe is friend,
And nothing matters in the end.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERDOSE OF POISON



THE MEETING OF THE AUGURS

THE Master Propagandist toyed with his demitasse.

"I am afraid the American people swallowed an overdose of propaganda. The amount they consumed went far beyond my prescription."

The Master Propagandist paused.

"It is not always possible," he added, "to determine the exact dosage."

We were finishing our luncheon in a Wall Street club overlooking the harbour of New York. The speaker's head was silhouetted against the sky. His features were shrewd but kindly, the face of a man exquisitely alive to every mental and emotional stimulation. His eyes, vaguely blue, were those of a dreamer.

Although he played a momentous part in the history of the World War, his name was almost unknown to the general public. The head of the British Secret Service and secret head of British propaganda in the United States, he was the concealed musician playing the organ of propaganda behind the scenes. Manipulating public opinion, he deliberately effaced himself.

We were facing each other like augurs after the worshippers have departed.

"Was it necessary," I asked, "to make the admixture of poison so strong?"

The Master Propagandist slowly sipped the last drop of his coffee.

"You forget," he drawled, "that you cannot make an effective appeal to the masses without arousing primitive instincts and prejudices. Without hate there can be no propaganda. Give me something to hate, and I guarantee to organize a powerful propaganda campaign anywhere within twenty-four hours."

"There was a man in Galilee," I remarked, "who won the world's heart with his love."

"Nevertheless," my friend replied, "the human species responds more readily to hate than to love. Hate is even stronger than patriotism. Our hate for the enemy is sometimes greater than our love for our country."

It was a few years after the War. Americans were still in the habit of speaking of our late opponents as "Huns," while England's commercial travellers were gleefully drumming up trade in Germany.

"Are you not somewhat embarrassed by the dragon's teeth you have sown?"

My vis-à-vis gazed thoughtfully through the rings of smoke that were wafted across the table from his cigarette.

"Yes," he replied, "you Americans have taken propaganda too seriously. The inoculation, if I may say so, has taken too well. Your people are still hating the German people while we are doing business with them."

* * * * *

Many years have elapsed since the War. Sanity has regained its foothold everywhere. The time is ripe to let the propaganda cat out of the bag.

Most of my information is first-hand. I played a conspicuous part in the drama of propaganda. My name figured in newspaper headlines almost every day. My correspondence and activities were nationwide. I have ransacked my files to quicken my own recollection. I have delved into official records. I

have studied the literature on the subject and I have consulted with propaganda chiefs, big and little, in many camps, to make my story authentic. My intention is not to fight the War over again, but to relate graphically the story of divers efforts to forge public opinion. I propose to write an impartial chronicle, not an attack; an eye-opener, not an indictment.

At home on both sides of the fence, I followed every move in the great game of propaganda in the opposing camps of propagandists. I studied, and I understood, Allied psychology. I was equally familiar with the psychology of the Germans. Germany's dapper ambassador, the astute Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, and his colleague, the gloomy Dr. Constantin Dumba, envoy of Francis Joseph, were my friends. I frequently conferred with Dr. Bernhard Dernburg and Dr. Heinrich Albert, the two propaganda chiefs of the Germans. I was in the confidence of Irish agitators devoting their unparalleled political skill to assaults on the British Empire.

I am indebted for illuminating glimpses of propaganda, both as a fine art and as applied science, to Sir William Wiseman, former head of the British Secret Service in the United States. Wiseman so skilfully camouflaged his movements that even the State Department, where he went in and out, did not know his official position until he himself chose to lift the veil. He remained demurely in the background when he pulled his wires and made his puppets dance. He shrouded himself in mystery both before and after April 7, 1917. I also discussed the problems of British propaganda with Sir William's unofficial predecessor, Sir Gilbert Parker.

And then there is Colonel Norman G. Thwaites, erstwhile Provost Marshal of Great Britain for the United States. Without his consent no passenger from an American port could embark on the high

seas during the War. We have broken bread more than once, and discussed various aspects of propaganda in New York and in London.

Another important actor in the drama of propaganda, the temperamental Guy Gaunt, the Naval Attaché of the British Empire, flashed vividly across my horizon. Gaunt is a native of Australia. It is said that at one period of his romantic career Guy Gaunt was the king of a South Sea island. During the War he was the inspiration of his fellow countryman, the late John R. Rathorn, who counted that day lost whose low declining sun did not envisage the exposure of a German plot in the *Providence Journal*. After the War, Guy Gaunt, rewarded for his service with an admiral's hat and a seat in Parliament, asked me to exchange confidences and to lunch with him in the House of Commons. To-day he is again roving the seas; maybe he has returned to the cannibal island!

Shortly after my encounter with Guy Gaunt, I attended a dinner of all the propagandists dispatched by Great Britain to the United States during the War in London. Then, speeding across the Channel, I rubbed shoulders with men entrusted by the Quai d'Orsay with the task of manipulating public opinion. In Berlin I exchanged reminiscences with old friends in the Wilhelmstrasse. These contacts have given me a world view of the mysterious activities which are summed up under the name of propaganda.

II

CAMOUFLAGE

"Propaganda!"

What is it?

It lurks between the lines of every news despatch. It ticks in the tick of the ticker. It leaps at us from the

screen. It makes and unmakes prosperity, it elects and defeats premiers and presidents. The Coolidge Bull Market and the Hoover Panic alike were its progeny. The balloon of Hoover's political fortunes owes its inflation solely to propaganda. Propaganda, like God, is always present. Sometimes it shrieks, sometimes it whispers, but it never fails to intrigue and captivate. It is in the sphere of politics and of thought what advertising is in the sphere of commerce.

The propagandist, like the advertiser, is the humble pupil of the psychologist. He is indebted for his technique to the advertiser. But whereas honest advertising is always recognizable as such, propaganda invariably involves camouflage. The Dr. Jekyll in the soul of the propagandist ignores the derelictions of Mr. Hyde. The serpent, I suspect, first introduced the propaganda "racket" into the Garden of Eden. Joseph manipulated not merely the price of bread but also public opinion in Egypt.

According to Bertrand Russell. Herodotus, the father of history, was a hired propagandist of the Athenian State. He employed his literary talents as a historian to glorify his employer. In the war of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, the Pope, Mr. Russell insists, won because he outdid the Emperor in the organization of propaganda. At the time of the Armada, both Philip and Elizabeth indulged in energetic propaganda campaigns. Philip accused Elizabeth of every imaginable crime, while the friends of Elizabeth made all England shudder at the horrors of the Inquisition. Even Shakespeare was a propagandist, if we accept Mr. Russell's opinion. *King Henry VIII* was propaganda for Elizabeth and *Macbeth* for James I, who is shown as the descendant of Banquo, wearing a triple crown.

It would be possible to amplify Mr. Russell's list almost indefinitely. Neither Julius Cæsar nor Napo-

leon was innocent of the weapon of propaganda. Napoleon was the prince of propagandists. In victory and in defeat, he personally edited despatches to the press and shrewdly calculated their effect on public opinion with the same meticulous care with which he revised the plans of his general staff. Benjamin Franklin was the earliest American propagandist. In the Civil War, President Lincoln, recognizing the necessity of American propaganda in England, dispatched Thurlow Weed, the great constitutional lawyer, Senator Evarts, and the eloquent pulpit orator Henry Ward Beecher to London. These men co-operated with Englishmen who desired to keep England out of the War.

During the World War, governments hired great novelists, newspaper correspondents, lecturers, and cartoonists to create favourable opinion. Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, the famous novelist, admittedly wrote *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* in four months spared from his official work of writing a weekly chronicle of the War and directing Allied propaganda for the French Government. The German Government subsidized poets and writers to intone "Deutschland über alles" in every possible key, while broods of British bards swooped down upon the United States to the tune of "Rule, Britannia!"

There is ample precedent for such action. Heinrich Heine, the great German poet, in his day received a subsidy in the form of a pension from the French Government. The French Government, while rewarding Heine the poet, did not overlook the potentialities of Heine the newspaper correspondent, able to disseminate French propaganda in Germany.

Indubitably, propaganda is a fine art! During the World War, to borrow a phrase from a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, propaganda took on the character of a new, if inexact, science. It was a science.

It was, at times, inexact. But—here I disagree—it certainly was not new. Propaganda in one form or another is as old as history itself.

In one form or another it is always with us. It is one of the forces with which every government and every individual must reckon hereafter. It stretches its tentacles into every office and every home. It is omnipresent.

Propaganda may be domestic, or it may be foreign. It is not always safe to judge by the label. Occasionally, the foreign brand is shipped to the United States, where it is repacked, so to speak, and supplied with an American tag before it is retailed for domestic consumption. The American people do not suspect to what extent American life is honeycombed with propaganda. Special financial, professional, political, and racial groups continuously assault and besiege the citadel of our minds.

It is difficult to draw a line between legitimate political agitation and propaganda. It is not always possible to determine where the one ends and the other begins. It is at times hard to distinguish between the press agent, the lawyer, the public relations counsel, the reporter, the educator, the preacher, the politician, the statesman, and the propagandist.

The confusion which envelops this term makes it possible for every government to deny that it is engaged in propaganda.

Again, what is propaganda?

The only difference between propaganda and education, remarks Edward L. Bernays, is in the point of view. "The advocacy of what we believe in is education. The advocacy of what we don't believe in is propaganda." Propaganda, declares Professor Friedrich Schoenemann, a German student of American propaganda, is "the art of mass suggestion." This definition, too, is too vague to serve our purpose. It

applies to the advertiser, to the preacher and to the stump orator as well as to the propagandist.

Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., emphasizes the untruthful character of propaganda. "During the War," he says, "the lie became a patriotic virtue. The greatest efforts were made to stamp every word of the enemy as a lie and every lie of our own as absolute truth. Everything sailed under the flag of propaganda." It is perfectly true that the War taught men to lie, as well as to die, for their country. But propaganda is not necessarily mendacious. It may merely over-emphasize or conceal the truth.

An American student, Harold D. Lasswell, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, in a more pretentious study of propaganda, makes several attempts to define the term. Propaganda, he thinks, takes the place of the tribal war dances in modern society. "A new and subtler instrument must weld thousands and even millions of human beings into one amalgamated mass of hate and will and hope. A new flame must burn out the canker of dissent and temper the steel of bellicose enthusiasm. The name of this new hammer and anvil of social solidarity is propaganda."

This is good psychology, but for our purpose it is too narrow and too academic. Propaganda need not be bellicose. It may be pacific. It may be political or commercial or religious. There is no phase of life to which it may not fasten itself. But propaganda betrays itself by certain infallible tests. Propaganda serves the special interests of a group or an individual. Its efforts are not sporadic, but systematic, although, like Proteus, it may assume many forms.

However, and this is the essential point wherein propaganda differs from other activities—it hides its paternity and dissembles its motives. Propaganda may insidiously disguise itself as education. It may

pretend that it is merely a straightforward campaign for publicity. But it differs from both education and publicity in that the element of camouflage in one form or another is always present.

At last we have snared our bird: *Propaganda is a campaign camouflaging its origin, its motive, or both, conducted for the purpose of obtaining a specific objective by manipulating public opinion.*

If the head of a foreign government publicly appeals to the United States for a remission of its debts contracted during the War, he engages in an honest political campaign. His bid for publicity is legitimate. There can be no misunderstanding of his motive. There is no doubt as to the source of the appeal. But if the same foreign government, by bestowing bits of ribbon or other honours, induces an American citizen in Massachusetts, or in Iowa, to demand the cancellation of the Allied debts "for the honour of America," it is indulging in propaganda. The voice that inspires his harangue is foreign, even if the hand that pens it is American.

It is, of course, entirely conceivable that an American, after studying the problem, may reach the same conclusion without inspiration from foreign sources. In that case his statement would not be propaganda, but an honest expression of his convictions. Again, it is conceivable that a foreign government or foreign interests may play upon his ignorance and his sympathies. He may not be aware of the source of his inspiration. He may be unwittingly the tool of others. In that case his activity, while foreign propaganda from one point of view, would be a legitimate exercise of his right as a citizen to formulate and to state his opinion.

Delicate ethical problems are frequently involved in the question of propaganda. The effect of propaganda on the propagandist himself is peculiar. He

sees the mote in his neighbour's eye, but is blissfully unaware of the beam in his own. The British propagandists, blind to their own operations, saw the United States polluted by torrents of German gold. Each side exaggerated the expenditure of the other.

"We were pikers," a German official sadly admitted to me. "What was a million dollars compared to the stake for which we were playing? For centuries to come, the German people will have to pay for our stinginess. We were not accustomed to spending millions on our own responsibility. We lacked the vision, the authority, and" —he paused—"the inexhaustible funds of the Allies."

Lord Northcliffe, on the other hand, expressed his sorrow that the English Government limited itself to hundreds of thousands where the Germans spent millions.

Each side professed moral indignation. The indignation was not merely professed. It was, in most cases, genuine. The pro-Germans and their Irish friends sarcastically referred to those who sedulously fostered the Allied cause as the hired tools of Lord Northcliffe. They rarely questioned their own conscience with regard to the source of their own financial support. The hypocrisy of this attitude is not, as a rule, conscious. The propagandist has a schizophrenic mind, a split personality.

I recently exchanged reminiscences with a young Irish-American who was active in German and Irish propaganda. This young man admitted that he occasionally received remuneration from German propaganda headquarters. His left hand took German money while his right hand dished out Irish propaganda. It never occurred to him to think of himself as "bought." "I was," he said to me, "fighting against Great Britain. I was fighting for the independence of Ireland." But he lambasted with honest

scorn and genuine moral indignation those who worked in the opposite camp.

"Perhaps," I said, "they, too, were battling for a cause in which they believed. Perhaps they worked, unlike you, without submitting a bill for expenses. What right have you, having soiled your hand with the soot of the German pot, to call the Northcliffe kettle black?"

A sudden gleam of understanding lit up his face. He saw my point. But he would not have seen it some years ago when emotion was at a higher pitch. He did not realize then that whoever accepted secret favours or emoluments from either side was a paid propagandist, no matter how holy the cause for which he laboured and fought may have seemed to him.

If he had been openly employed by either side, he would have been a press agent, a publicity man. But the moment camouflage in any form entered into the arrangement, he was a cog in the wheel of propaganda.

During the War, a committee initiated a campaign to break the British blockade by sending milk for German babies through the United States mail. Many American women contributed to this campaign, moved solely by their compassion for the suffering of children. Such women were not propagandists. Both the compassion and the suffering were real. If, however, the movement was financed or inspired, directly or indirectly, by German interests, concealing themselves under the cloak of charity, the American people were justified in deeming this campaign as propaganda.

The amount of milk which could be shipped to Germany through such channels was infinitesimal. The primary purpose of the movement was not to relieve German children but to embarrass Great Britain and to involve the British Government in complications with the United States. The true objective of the

campaign differed materially from the ostensible one. Some members of the committee were German propagandists. Other members were sincere, if disingenuous, idealists. It is inadvisable to permit oneself to engage in any campaign without a clear understanding as to who is paying the piper and without ascertaining the ultimate beneficiary.

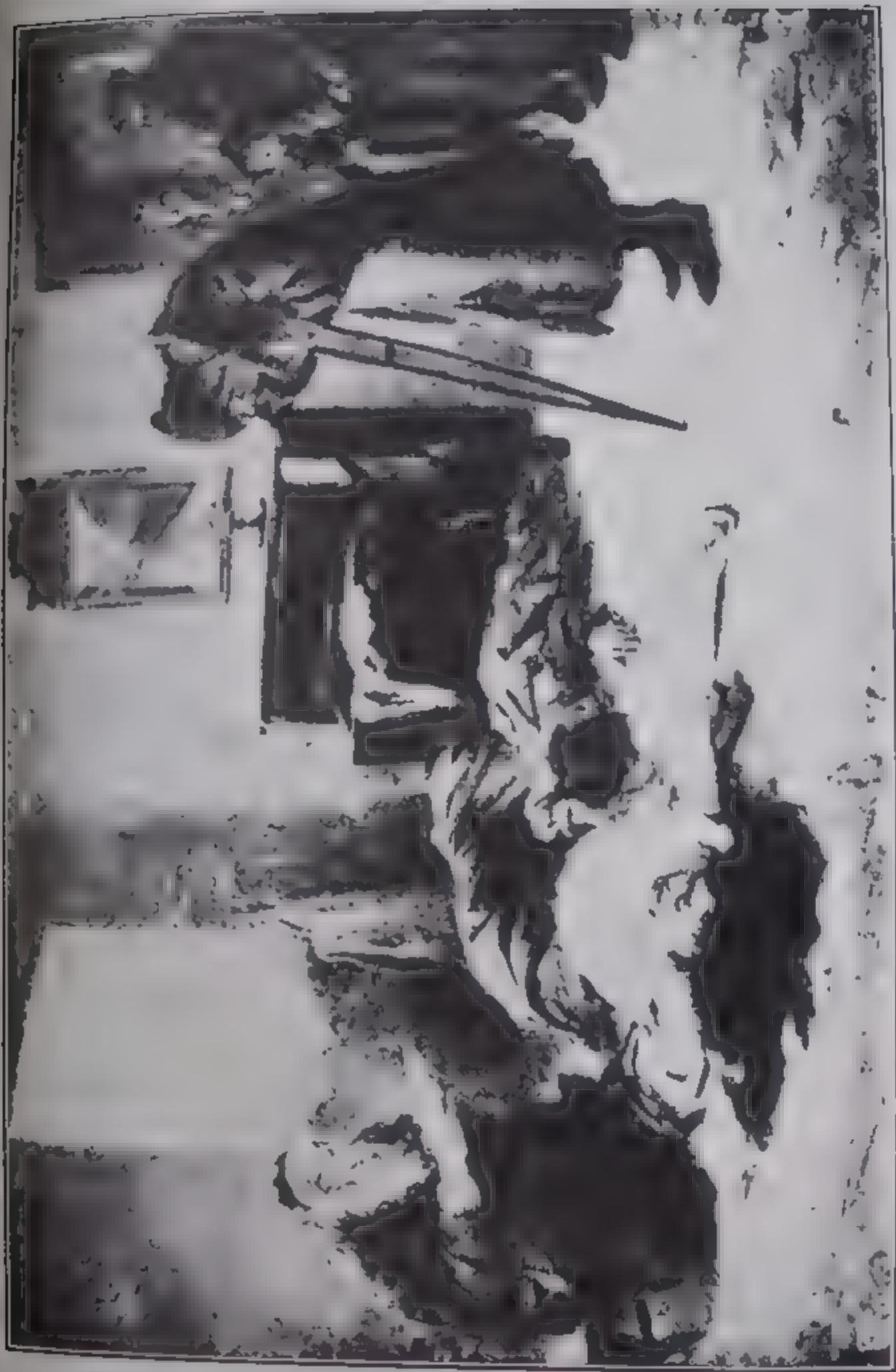
Pacifism was the sincere creed of many Americans. If peace-loving Americans undertook and conducted a campaign for an embargo on arms, they acted entirely within their rights. But if the expense of the campaign was defrayed by German money contributed under various aliases, the sponsors of the movement became the victims or accomplices of propaganda, for in that case the real object was not to enforce peace but to aid the German Government by withholding munitions from Germany's foes.

To-day, we know that both the milk and the peace campaign, of which I shall say more in another chapter, were accelerated or conceived by German agents. Then they appeared to every earnest partisan in the light of a sentimental crusade. The shoe of humanity artfully concealed the cloven hoof of propaganda.

III

THE ATROCITY RACKET

The propagandist himself is rarely aware of his cloven hoof. He cannot hypnotize others without first hypnotizing himself. The power of suggestion and auto-suggestion is terrific. Crucified Canadian soldiers stalked in the dreams of the Allied propagandist until they became a reality. He saw the severed hands of Belgian children. He actually smelled with his own nostrils the smoke of the corpses that the Germans converted into lubricating oil! In the throes of war-psychosis all things seem possible.



THE HORRORS OF THE POLOM

The picture by M. Mammou appeared in the German periodical *Die Welt*, May 1900. It is a reproduction of a painting by the Russian artist, M. Mammou, which was exhibited at the St. Petersburg Exhibition of 1894. The picture is a reproduction of a painting by the Russian artist, M. Mammou, which was exhibited at the St. Petersburg Exhibition of 1894.

The British stimulated our tear glands more successfully than the Germans. Some atrocity stories were manufactured deliberately; others just grew, like Topsy. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., traces the growth of several such stories.

After the Germans invested Antwerp the *Cologne Gazette* printed the following item:

When the fall of Antwerp got known, the church bells were rung.

The church bells were the church bells of Germany.

The editor of the *Paris Matin*, avidly seizing upon the despatch, interpreted and reproduced it as follows:

According to the *Cologne Gazette* the clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the church bells when the fortress was taken.

Crossing the Channel, the story underwent a sea change. This is how it reads in the *London Times*:

According to what *Le Matin* has heard from Cologne the Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been driven away from their places.

Resuming its pilgrimage, the story recrossed the Channel and reached Rome. Behold its metamorphosis in the *Corriere della Sera*:

According to what *The Times* has heard from Cologne, via Paris, the unfortunate Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been sentenced to hard labour.

Flashed back to *Le Matin* from Rome the item, decked out with gruesome details, reappears a full-fledged German atrocity:

According to information to the *Corriere della Sera* from Cologne via London, it is confirmed that the barbaric conquerors of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian priests for their heroic refusal to ring the church bells by hanging them as living clappers to the bells with their heads down.

The Germans were less ingenious, but no less unscrupulous, in twisting the news from the opposite camp. An English lady inserted the following advertisement in the Agony Column of the *London Times* on July 9, 1915:

Jack F.G.: If you are not in khaki by the 20th, I shall cut you dead. Ethel M.

The British correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* transmitted this notice to his paper as follows:

If you are not in khaki by the 29th, *hacke ich dich zum Tode* (I will hack you to death).

Not even our sense of humour saved us from accepting innumerable stories of German atrocities. We swallowed them because England appealed to the stern moral sense which we inherited from our Puritan ancestors. Flattery, insinuations, reiterations, self-interest, and social pressure would have failed to arouse America, if we had not been persuaded that Germany was the enemy of civilization. England, in Demartial's phrase, "mobilized the conscience of the world" against Germany.

It is impossible to trace every atrocity story in detail here. For that we must go to specialists like Ponsonby and Demartial. I would not rehash the atrocity stories at all if they were not important as illustrations of how the propagandist manipulates his material. I shall dwell here and in subsequent chapters on a few exemplars which gained credence in the United States. Our indignation at having been victimized by the propagandists will be mitigated by the knowledge that human nature is, after all, better than we were led to believe. This recognition should put us on our guard in the future. It also should serve to remove the last trace of bitterness and hatred engendered in many hearts by propaganda.

The story of the Belgian baby without hands en-

circled the globe. Soon eye-witnesses appeared. The seed planted by the propagandists blossomed into a tree which cast its shadow on every newspaper in the world. The Pope promised to raise his voice in an official protest if the violation of a Belgian nun or the cutting off of a child's hand could be established in a single instance. Investigations were instituted. Cardinal Mercier was one of those entrusted with the investigation, but, according to Colonel Repington's war diary, not one case could be proved.

After the War, a wealthy American sent a representative to Belgium to provide a livelihood for the children whose little hands had been cut off. He was unable to discover a single one. "Mr. Lloyd George himself," remarks Signor Nitti, Italian Prime Minister during the War, "carried on extensive investigations as to the truth of these horrible accusations, some of which at least were told specifically as to names and places. Every case investigated proved to be a myth."

Early in the War, five distinguished American war correspondents—Roger Lewis, Irvin Cobb, Harry Hansen, James O'Donnell Bennett, and John T. McCutcheon—publicly declared that, after having been with the German Army for two weeks and after having accompanied the troops for more than one hundred miles, they were not able to report one single case of undeserved punishment or measure of retribution. Rudolph Cronau, in his *British Black Book*, reprinted the testimony of these newspapermen and of other witnesses, but this publication never reached more than a few thousand people. The edition was confiscated after Americans entered the conflict.

All these denials had little effect on the public mind. To this day, millions of men and women are convinced that the Germans systematically committed all the atrocities of which they have been accused. Before

the committee investigating German propaganda appeared a witness who reiterated, on hearsay, evidence that the Germans had crucified a Belgian child.

Senator King asked: "You did not see the child?"

"No, sir," the witness replied. "The child was not permitted to remain there more than a minute or two after the soldiers went on."

American mothers were driven frantic by the wild rumour that the Germans were in the habit of crucifying their prisoners. The story was believed by our doughboys before they met the enemy on the field. The story of the crucified Canadian went round the press in the United States and in Canada. It was quoted in Congress. The Postmaster General of the United States, Mr. Burleson, whom I happened to meet shortly after the entrance of the United States into the War, repeated the story to me, completely convinced of its authenticity. It was eventually categorically denied by General March at Washington.*

Allied stories of ill treatment, written by prisoners under postage stamps, were similar fables. All these stories were exploited by the propagandists. They became folklore. It may be said to the credit of the English Government that it sent one woman to jail for forging a letter alleging the cruel mutilation of a nurse by German soldiers. But, nevertheless, the lie went marching on.

IV

SKELETONS FROM OFFICIAL CLOSETS

Every government sought to make its enemy appear the aggressor. Official texts abounded in perversions of facts and wilful omissions. No government was free from guilt. The Russian Government was appar-

* See page 277.

ently most brazen in this respect. However, the Russians, like the Germans and the Austrians, have been exposed by revolutionary governments. We do not yet know what secrets slumber in the archives of other nations. The full truth, in spite of innumerable White Books and Blue Books, is still screened by official red tape.

During the War scholars and historians in every camp staked their reputations on the veracity of their country. In Germany, ninety-three distinguished intellectuals, including Ehrlich, Harnack, Brentano, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Eucken, Lieberman, Wundt, issued a pronunciamiento declaring their faith in Germany's cause. The Oxford war pamphlets, the Princeton symposium, and the Chicago war series were similar expressions of the British and the American attitude.

The facility with which sincere and dexterous hands may shape cases on either side of a controversy, leaves no doubt, as Professor Lasswell remarks, that in the future the propagandist may count upon a battalion of honest professors to rewrite history to serve the exigencies of the moment and to provide the material for him to scatter thither and yon.

The Bryce report, which execrates the alleged brutality of the German invaders of Belgium, falls into this category. Its moral influence throughout the world was immense. The honoured name of Bryce convinced many that the charges against the Germans in Belgium were based on truth. Subsequent investigation revealed that he was mistaken.

The invasion of Belgium, the maladroit speech of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, in the Reichstag, admitting the "wrong," created an atmosphere of hostility to Germany which no subsequent propaganda could overcome. It gave the cue to the propaganda of all the Allies. Many years later a French

general (Perein) admitted that the violation of Belgian neutrality envisaged in all German war plans, was also an integral part of the strategy of the French General Staff.

Bethmann-Hollweg's temperamental reference to a treaty as a "scrap of paper" in a conversation with the British Ambassador was clumsy. The Allies, seizing upon this slip of the tongue, used it with great skill to persuade mankind that it represented the deliberate attitude of the German nation toward all obligations.

Ingenious dialecticians on both sides misinterpreted every word of the opponent. "Deutschland über alles," a patriotic song sharing with the anthems of all nations a certain fervid over-emphasis of national aspirations, was invested with a sinister meaning which it did not possess in the original. In a similar way the official title of the German Emperor became a menacing phrase through a misleading translation. *Kriegsherr* means Lord in War, not War Lord. It merely signified that the German Emperor was Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the German Empire. Emperor William himself explained this distinction to me at some length. It might be said with equal justice that President Hoover is the "War Lord" of the United States.

Propagandists on both sides appropriated phrases from jingo writers. Torn from their context, sentences from such writers clothed the term German "Militarism" with a new and terrible meaning. The Germans were less successful in raising the scarecrow of British "Navalism."

British propagandists exploited obscure German authors of the extremist school. Writers without a following in their own countries were held up to the English-speaking world as typical representatives of German *Kultur*. The Germans countered this move

by excerpts from the French and the English. But they were unable to secure wide circulation for collections of this type in the United States, except in pro-German organs.

The very word "German" soon carried with it the insinuation of evil. Inasmuch as humanity can visualize a personal devil better than an abstraction, the Kaiser, in the hands of British propagandists, became another Lucifer revolting against the divinely appointed order.

Each side saddled the other side with the responsibility for the War. The trick is ancient. But it works. The Germans directed their songs of hate successively against England, Russia, and France. British propagandists pointed their fingers of accusation chiefly at Germany. Many years later Lloyd George confessed that all nations had more or less "stumbled" into the War.

The phrase, "the contemptible little army," attributed to the Kaiser by British propaganda, was a valuable aid in British recruiting and in arousing American indignation against German pretensions. The Kaiser himself declared that he never used such an expression. It may be a reminiscence of a phrase of Bismarck's who, when a British statesman asked him, "What would you do if England landed an army on the coast of Pomerania?" replied "I would call out the police to arrest them."

In the game of propaganda, honours and decorations bear a by no means insignificant part. The Kaiser, before the War, had decorated individual Americans like J. P. Morgan. Small bits of ribbon landed in the lapels of German-American leaders. During the War and afterwards, circumstances rendered the distribution of such honours by the Germans impossible. German decorations were always considered to be less elegant than similar distributions of

British and French origin. German decorations, unlike the British, carried no titles.

Many of our fellow citizens, decorated by King George, are entitled to prefix "Sir" to their names. The British Government had no wish to confer knighthoods upon Americans. It realized that to be addressed as "Sir" would make an American ridiculous in his own country. But the only orders sufficiently important to be bestowed on generals, ambassadors, and captains of industry carried with them automatically the elevation of the recipient to knighthood.

England had many good friends in high places. Northcliffe boasts of this in his messages to his government. When the Administration wavered, the pro-Allies depended on Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt to rally the Opposition. The fear of Roosevelt's wrath restrained that wing of the Republican party which, remembering the German-American vote, was inclined to flirt with the pro-Germans.

Roosevelt once said to me: "I thank God that I have not one drop of British blood." He resented the supercilious attitude which the English at times assumed in their relations with the United States. "When I was in London," the Colonel explained, "I did not kowtow to England. They are used to that. I did not attack them. They thrive on opposition. I patronized them. That was a thing to which they were not accustomed." Mr. Roosevelt was referring to the advice he gave the British Government on the conduct of the Empire in one of his speeches.

Roosevelt was delighted when the British came to him for advice in 1914. They did not appeal to his British blood. But they exploited his dislike of Wilson.

Lodge, for all his sturdy Americanism, was steeped in British culture. During the War the pro-Germans

accused him of being the instrument of Great Britain. Senator W. J. Stone, the Democratic chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, publicly and privately attacked Lodge for his British bias. Stone once said to me, in the presence of five or six others: "If Woodrow Wilson is defeated, we may lose the control of the Senate. Lodge will then become chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. His place"—the Senator raised his voice indignantly—"is the British House of Lords, not the Senate of the United States."

The statement, made in the excitement of an approaching election, expressed, nevertheless, a genuine feeling. Shared as it was by the Irish and by the pro-Germans, it is of sufficient importance to be recorded. Subsequently, when Senator Lodge led the fight against the League of Nations, the Germans and the Irish extolled his "Americanism."

Irish propaganda talked in hyperboles. Frequently it was too violent to be convincing. German propaganda especially suffered from psychological, lingual, and geographical handicaps. French propaganda bore too obviously the label "Made in France." Great Britain surpassed both her Allies and her foes in the great game of propaganda. Where she failed with the might of her guns, she succeeded with the finesse of her propaganda. She ruled both the waves of the sea and the ocean of public opinion. German submarines challenged, at times successfully, her supremacy on the seas. But German propaganda produced no Tirpitz!

Lloyd George, exclaimed General Erich Ludendorff, knew well what he was doing when, after the end of the War, he conveyed to Lord Northcliffe the thanks of Great Britain. Northcliffe, Ludendorff adds, was a master of mass suggestion! But Lord Northcliffe was only one of many in whom the mar-

vellous skill of the British to sway public opinion manifested itself. If Ludendorff's spy system had worked more effectively, he would have added to his eulogy of Lord Northcliffe a tribute to the Commander-in-Chief of British propaganda in the United States, Sir William Wiseman. It was Sir William Wiseman who made America safe for the Allies!

V

GUILILESS AMERICA

The propagandist in our midst is not necessarily a scoundrel. He is usually a patriotic citizen of his own country who persuades himself that he is the friend of the country whose hospitality he enjoys and sometimes abuses. By deft appeals to old loyalties and race memories, to mental, financial, and social ties, to common shibboleths and taboos, he attracts his co-racials in the United States. He appeals not only to our naturalized citizens but to their children and children's children. He seeks to convince them that he is fighting on the side of the angels and that the cause of their adopted land is identical with the cause of the land which inspires his propaganda.

He rarely buys supporters. It may be true that every man has his price, but no man who is worth his salt can be crudely purchased for money. He must be persuaded, convinced, and wheedled by propaganda before he surrenders. "Men who can be purchased outright are not," the Master Propagandist once remarked to me, "worth purchasing. Men who can be bought do not stay bought."

Foreign propaganda in the United States during the War owed its effectiveness not to bribery but to the expert manipulation of genuine sympathies and emotions. The intensity of the emotion increases, as a

rule, in direct ratio to the distance from the front. The emotion that cannot spend itself in action at the front often explodes in the form of war-hysteria at home.

Americans frequently took sides more violently than the citizens of the very countries at war. We have already demonstrated that our extreme pro-Allies harboured war resentments longer than the French and the English. Our pro-Germans were more pro-German than the Germans themselves. To this day many Germans in foreign lands are reluctant to recognize the flag of the German Republic. Many Germans from beyond the sea boycotted French goods during the Ruhr invasion while German business men were calmly contemplating cartels between French and German industries.

The intensity with which war animosities flared up in the United States almost immediately after the declaration of war was a surprise. It was also a tribute to the effectiveness of two great systems of propaganda.

Heretofore the average American had only the haziest ideas of European conditions. We knew London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, but we were less interested in the Balkans than in the North Pole. Even the shot at Sarajevo that was heard round the world, and started a conflagration that eventually involved every continent, left us imperturbed. To the average American, the War that was stalking through Europe seemed remote. It did not seem likely that the flames would leap across three thousand miles of ocean. But already sparks came flying over by cable and by wireless. The British cable and the German wireless station dinned into our ears, hour after hour, day after day, the story of the conflict, coloured by national self-interest.

England, as an Irishman, the grandfather of the

late Mayor Mitchel of New York City, once said, has the ear of the world. She can pour into it whatsoever she pleases. This is due largely to her imperial net of communications and to the universality of her language. Given this initial advantage, which she exploited to the full, she only needed the emotional appeal of "poor little Belgium" to enlist the sympathy of most Americans, especially those who were her own kindred. Those who sympathized with the Central Powers for reasons of race did not see a poor little Belgium. They merely saw Germany and Austria surrounded by an iron ring of foes. To them Belgium seemed a door that was closed to the Kaiser but which was flung wide open to his enemies.

We are not now discussing the rights and wrongs of the case. We are merely stating the contentions which soon were to divide the United States into two hostile camps. One large camp embraced most of those who derived their intellectual sustenance or traced their descent from France or Great Britain. The second camp was composed of those who were the friends of the Central Powers or the enemies of the Allies. This is necessarily a rough division. Some persons of English blood were with Germany. Some Irishmen and some Germans were in the camp of the Allies. There was, however, a third camp, and this camp, in the beginning, at least, embraced the large majority of the American people—the camp of the neutrals.

When President Wilson issued his neutrality proclamation, adjuring his countrymen to be neutral in thought as well as in deed, he was speaking surely for most of his fellow countrymen. A distinguished French historian, Hannotaux, relates a conversation with three Americans who told him that in the beginning of the World War only fifty thousand out of a hundred million people in the United States were in favour of our joining the War, but that they would work to

reverse the situation. Eventually there would be a hundred million in favour of war!

Pro-Ally sentiment crystallized in the great seaboard cities, where the commercial and social pressure of the pro-Allies was strong. These communities were comparatively close to the scene of battle. Their ears caught, so to speak, the echoes of the combat. As the distance from the seaboard increased, the War seemed less important. The West insisted on doing business as usual. Few dreamed that America herself would be drawn into the fiery whirlpool, although Allied borrowings in the United States alarmed not only pro-Germans. The editor of *The Fatherland* was spending a week-end at the house of one of the great bankers of the United States—a pronounced pro-Ally. Both men were looking over the morning paper when the banker suddenly started.

"Look at this," he said, pointing to a paragraph in the paper. It was a short note, rather inconspicuous, from which it appeared that Great Britain and France were on the point of launching a loan of five hundred million dollars in the United States.

"Stop that if you can," the banker remarked.

The editor looked up in surprise.

"I thought that you were a pro-Ally."

"I am," the banker replied, "but I am American first. I consider this loan a menace to the United States. It is only the beginning of other loans to come. Now they ask us to lend them a fortune. Sooner or later these loans will inevitably drive us into the War. In the end, no matter who wins, we shall hold the bag for all Europe. They will saddle their war debts upon the broad shoulders of Uncle Sam. I doubt if we shall ever see our money again. We shall lose not merely our money but the good will of our debtors."

A campaign first to prevent the loan, then to defeat it, was begun. The pro-Germans adopted the pictur-

esque device of having sandwich men parade in front of Mr. Morgan's office, warning against the loan. The bankers had considerable difficulty in financing the project. German-Americans threatened to boycott banks and insurance companies investing in the Anglo-French loan. In several cities, especially Milwaukee, this agitation, aided by the National German-American Alliance, by the American Truth Society and others, seriously interfered with the handling of the Anglo-French bonds. However, the very fact that the pro-Germans took such an active part in the campaign against the loan intensified the activities of the pro-Allies in its favour.

In the end the pro-Allies won.

Each side made desperate attacks on the neutral camp. The neutrals held the balance of power. Whichever side succeeded in gaining their support could count upon the moral and material aid of the United States. The virulent propaganda initiated by both sides to achieve this end tended to disintegrate our national solidarity. Confusion took the place of fusion. A racial schism seemed to threaten America. This schism was more apparent than real. The attitude of the American people after April, 1917, revealed divided opinions but no divided allegiance. Nevertheless, for the time being, the diverse propagandas constituted a genuine peril. It was as if a witch had suddenly thrown an explosive into the alchemist's pot. Uncle Sam had distilled from many elements the gold of national unity. For a moment it seemed as if the gold had turned into dynamite. In the clang of confusion men identified themselves temporarily with the warring factions of Europe. They lost sight of the fact that they were American first.

Religion entered into the fray. The propagandist, like the devil, is an apt student of biblical texts. Soon the propagandists thundered from pulpits. God was

called as a witness by pro-Germans and pro-Allies alike. Both sides played the social game. Pretty hostesses became propagandists. Propaganda began to poison our social life.

Every luncheon, every dinner became a propaganda party. The British aristocrat and the German professor, the French poet and the Austrian diplomat, all became disseminators of propaganda in public and in private. Important decisions are often shaped not in cabinet meetings or at directors' conferences but over the second cocktail before dinner, or over a whisky and soda in a club.

The campaign did not confine itself to society. In every sphere of life the propagandist appeared. Both sides subsidized men at street corners, who mingled with the crowds in front of war bulletins to give a pro-German or a pro-Ally slant to the conversation. For every professional worker there were a thousand volunteers who, feeling at their heartstrings the tug of racial affinity, tried to make our country pro-Ally or pro-German.

Soon big business was involved. There were contracts to be filled, shipments to be made, millions to be won and millions to be lost. Self-interest conspired with propaganda. Profit attempted to disguise itself as patriotism. It soon became more important to many men to sell goods to the Allies or to the Germans than to observe the President's injunction for neutrality in thought and deed.

Both sides retained high-priced attorneys. Many of the attorneys engaged in press campaigns on behalf of their clients. These men were not retained to write pro-German or pro-British articles. They were engaged for legitimate legal work in connection with great enterprises involving enormous shipments to Europe. But they discovered soon that where their treasure was, there their hearts were also. They wrote

letters to newspapers, they lectured in private and in public. Often their conclusions were based upon false or doctored reports issued by the governments at war. Hardly a White Book or Blue Book appeared that was not guilty at least of an important omission.

The din of propaganda invaded the lectures of the professors. Scholars issued pontifical statements favouring one side or the other. In the great majority of cases their announcements were absolutely sincere. However, they failed to recognize that their conclusions were based upon false premises and upon incomplete information.

Pro-German and pro-Ally lobbyists besieged the government departments. They invaded Congress. Wittingly or unwittingly, men in public life became the tools of propagandists who addressed themselves to them through their constituents. Million-dollar campaigns to exert pressure on Congress were initiated. In many cases the money came directly or indirectly from foreign sources.

VI

ELUSIVE PROPAGANDISTS

Most of us swallowed unsuspectingly the propaganda that was spoon-fed to us from Europe. The presses groaned under propaganda matter. Newspapers and periodicals were cajoled. Correspondents were flattered or tricked into compliance. Never had so vast a machinery been employed to manipulate public opinion, perhaps for the reason that never before was public opinion so important.

As education increases among the masses, as suffrage is extended, it becomes less and less possible to direct the affairs of a nation from behind closed doors. It is not enough to convince a statesman or to wheedle

a diplomat. It is necessary to win the sanction of the public at large. Secret diplomacy can still precipitate wars, gentlemen's agreements between the cabinets are still made secretly, but they are valueless unless they are backed by the force of public opinion.

War on a large scale is no longer possible without the consent of the people, because war on a large scale is no longer conducted by mercenaries. It involves all the forces, mental, physical, and material, of the entire nation. Hence, there can be no great war hereafter, in fact no action on a large scale, without propaganda, propaganda designed to win the consent of the dominant groups which constitute the population.

Propaganda is the penalty we pay for democracy.

England denies violently that there was such a thing as an organized British propaganda in the United States. Long after the War, Colonel Thwaites maintained that, "strictly speaking, there was no British propaganda prior to the entry of America into the War."

"Admit," I said to him, "that British propaganda in the United States began in 1776 and has continued to the present day."

Thwaites shook his head indignantly. "Such activities as were carried on during the War in America, were in the nature of counter propaganda. We corrected errors. We made no attempt to distribute pro-British statements to the press.

"It is true," Thwaites continued, "that after 1917 a large number of lecturers, military, naval, and civilian, were allowed to visit the United States, but all of these came at their own expense and we gave no special allowances or fee. If there were any lecturers whose services were paid for," he added, somewhat more cautiously, "I am not aware of them."

"I presume," I remarked, "that both sides were equally unscrupulous in the choice of their weapons?"

Thwaites smiled reminiscently.

"Both sides," he admitted, "attempted to discredit agents of the other side by making public their little weaknesses or frailties. A certain paper dealing in scandal was more than once supplied with juicy tit-bits concerning British or German officers. Sometimes editors tried to blackmail us. I have no doubt that they tried to do the same with the Germans. The photograph of Ambassador Bernstorff with two bathing beauties was an effort at tit for tat. It was supposed that this same plenipotentiary had offered large sums to any one supplying information about Allied officials.

"We kept our affairs pretty well to ourselves," Thwaites went on with a chuckle. "So little was known about English organization that when America declared war, even the Chief of Police in New York could not give the name of more than one."

As a matter of fact, British propaganda was deliberately decentralized. The chief of one bureau frequently knew nothing about another, even if the man at its head were a personal friend.

Sir Gilbert Parker, in *Harper's Monthly*, gave a detailed account of his activities as a propagandist. Louis Tracy, another British propaganda chief, amplifies this information in a newspaper article. "There was," he says—in the *New York Evening Sun* of November 10, 1919—"perhaps most in the public eye, the almost endless chain of English men and women who came over during the War to speak under the auspices of the British Government upon different aspects of the War. This did not include the speakers and writers who came over here upon their own initiative and for pecuniary benefit. We were not responsible for them. But we did look after and make arrangements for all the speakers who were sent over by the government. And they were legion!"

All during the War, veritable armies of propagandists knocked loudly at every newspaper door. There was not a day on which some propagandist, or some one bearing a message of propaganda, did not invade an editorial sanctum. Even the small newspapers were not neglected. Geoffrey Butler—he was knighted for his services, and represented the University of Cambridge in the House of Parliament until his death in 1929—permitted no grass to grow under his feet. His Bureau of Information, publicly and officially established by Sir William Wiseman, far outgrew the modest proportions of Sir Gilbert Parker's attempt. He secured the services of highly trained specialists who had every imaginable information at their fingers' tips.

Recently, Sir Campbell Stuart, chief lieutenant of Lord Northcliffe, revealed with astonishing frankness the workings of the British propaganda machine in *Secrets of Crewe House*. Nevertheless, the British still insist that there was no such animal.

Both the pro-Allies and the pro-Germans beg the question when they deny the existence of propaganda. They were able to do so because the term "propaganda" in its modern acceptance has not been properly clarified. Most dictionaries define propaganda as "a systemized effort to disseminate a particular doctrine or system of principles with zeal." Such definitions ignore the new and insidious meaning which the War had given to propaganda.

It was during the hectic years of post-war propaganda that incriminations and recriminations led to a celebrated libel suit in which George Sylvester Viereck was cited as an expert on propaganda. In the absence of an exact definition of the term, the editor of *The Fatherland* denied the existence of German propaganda with *sang-froid*.

"What do you know about propaganda?" the at-

torney for the defendant insinuatingly, almost mincingly, questioned. His accents were honeyed. His voice was like a dove's.

The only answer was an almost audible silence.

"Do you know," the attorney continued, "whether or not, after the Great War started in 1914, the German Government organized any propaganda system in this country?"

"I cannot answer your question," the witness remarked with a pleading smile, "unless you first define what you mean by propaganda."

"Don't you understand what it means?"

"According to the dictionary, the term is derived from the activities of the College of Cardinals for the dissemination of the Catholic Faith. Is that the propaganda you have in mind?"

"Is that what you think about that question?" the lawyer snarled, suddenly changing his tactics.

"There was also an attempt in the time of Milton to systemize and propagate Protestantism. Subsequently," the editor calmly proceeded, "the term 'propaganda' received different meanings."

"What other meanings? I will get the one I want before you get through, I think, if that is the way you want to go at it."

The lawyer was now plainly angry.

"Sir Gilbert Parker—" Viereck began.

"You started to give a lot of definitions to the effect that propaganda means a lot of things. What other things does it mean?"

"If I were writing a dictionary I would quote Sir Gilbert Parker. He says: 'The scope of our propaganda department in America was very extensive and its activities were wide. It follows—'"

"Now," the attorney roared, "will you please answer my question? What other meaning did 'propaganda' have?"

"The term is used colloquially to designate an attempt on the part of any group representing some special interest to put over its point of view, *irrespective of facts.*"

There was considerable wrangling among the attorneys, but insisting upon his definition, the editor of *The Fatherland* could assert that there had been no German propaganda in the United States. "All we tried to do," he maintained, "was to put over the facts."

CHAPTER TWO

SECRETS OF GERMAN PROPAGANDA

THE PROPAGANDA CABINET

“GO to the hell!” said a distinguished German propagandist.

His expression was more forcible than idiomatic, but its meaning was unmistakable. His eyes flashed, his high forehead was flushed. A tall man, impressive in his bearing, he was the handsomest of the Germans.

What was responsible for this departure for the suavity that usually characterized his manner?

His rage was aroused by a messenger with a letter from the editor of a minor publication subsidized by the Embassy.

“Yes,” the propaganda chieftain repeated, “tell him to go to the hell. I refuse to pay blackmail.”

The messenger grinned sheepishly. It is doubtful if he fully understood the import of his mission.

A distinguished colleague, Dr. Karl Alexander Fuchr, equally tall and almost equally handsome, a diplomat from the top of his head to the tip of his toes, shook his head deprecatingly. An intense nervous type, Fuchr exercised a self-control that was almost uncanny.

“It will be cheaper to pay, *Herr Geheimrat*,” he whispered.

The editor who made the demand asked for financial support in order to avert bankruptcy. He added that in a case of bankruptcy the creditors would ex-

amine his affairs and it would be difficult to avoid unpleasant disclosures. The matter was settled by the payment of a few thousand dollars.

This particular pensioner had been foisted upon the propagandists by the Embassy. The scene in question took place before a formal meeting of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg's associates, to which I shall refer as his "Cabinet."

The history of the meetings of this secret body is the history of German propaganda in the United States. Its beginnings lead us back to the arrival of Dr. Dernburg and Dr. Albert from Germany.

Dr. Albert and Dr. Dernburg, accompanied by Privy Counsellor Meyer-Gerhardt, departed for New York as soon as the drums of war smote the startled ear of the world. Almost simultaneously, Dr. Karl A. Fuehr, with his colleague, Dr. Mechlenburg, and one or two other assistants, embarked for the United States from Japan, for already the War God had stalked to Asia. Both men were attached to the German Embassy in Washington. Fuehr spoke English like a native. He owes his extraordinary knowledge of our language and of American psychology to his charming American wife.

Dr. Dernburg first came to this country on an entirely different mission. He explained that his propaganda activities in the United States were forced upon him by the misrepresentations of Germany's foes. His colleague and successor, Dr. Albert, insisted that the German Government was interested merely in disseminating "information" and conducted no "propaganda."

When these German officials arrived in the United States, they immediately sloughed off their official skins. Dr. Dernburg, though a former cabinet minister, was actually no longer a public official. He came to our shores as a delegate of the German Red Cross.

Albert represented a large government purchasing agency. He was not, in the beginning, officially attached to the Embassy. Both Dr. Fuehr and Dr. Mechlenburg emphatically declared that they were in America on a leave of absence from official duties. Albert's brilliant legal talent stood him in good stead in the United States. He is to-day the leading attorney for Big Business with German and American affiliations. The private status of these emissaries made it less embarrassing for Americans to co-operate with them. Moreover, it relieved the Embassy from any official responsibility for their actions. After the rupture of diplomatic relations, Fuehr and Mechlenburg returned to Germany with the ambassador and re-entered the diplomatic service.

It was Albert's duty to float German loans in the United States, to supervise all financial deals involving German business interests, to finance shipments of copper and cotton, to purchase factories, and to advise the German Embassy on all commercial matters. In these endeavours he encountered unexpected difficulties. England not merely ruled the waves but waived the rules governing maritime intercourse. The British authorities calmly ignored the protests of the American Government. This fact intensified Albert's interest in the campaign to arouse popular indignation against British interference with American commerce.

Albert supplied the motive power for the engine of propaganda. He was, in the parlance of war days, the paymaster who financed the Embassy and Dr. Dernburg. It was he who secured funds. The activities of his office were as complicated as those of a bank. He was a member of Dr. Dernburg's Propaganda Cabinet from the beginning, becoming its head after Dernburg's departure. If the German Government had permitted Albert to play his own hand

freely, many blunders of German propaganda would have been averted.

Dr. Dernburg insisted that the funds at his disposal were not government money. It was hinted that they were mysterious contributions from wealthy Germans and from plutocratic Americans of German descent. This pretence was maintained, although toward the end it seemed a hollow one.

II

WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

German propaganda addressed itself primarily to groups from which it could expect a sympathetic response. It sought the old-fashioned American with Revolutionary traditions; the cotton grower of the South, almost bankrupted by the blockade; the Irish with a grudge against England; the Jew with a grudge against Russia; and last, not least, the German American. The isolationists whose world ends with the Rocky Mountains lent a willing ear to the voice of the propagandist. The pacifists, except for those who regarded the Allied enterprise as a "war to end war," clasped hands with the pro-Germans to prevent Uncle Sam from increasing the ranks of the belligerents. The radicals co-operated for reasons of their own. Pacifism was the motive of some; resentment against the capitalistic groups, the banks which loaned money to the Allies, and the munition makers whose war babies were skyrocketing in the stock market, influenced others; still others were deliberately seduced by bribes.

German propagandists appealed to each group on different grounds. The very fact that the arguments used were frequently contradictory made it all the more necessary for the propagandist to conceal himself. For the pacifist he painted the glories of peace,

for the pro-German the glories of war. He accelerated, where he could, movements of other than German origin favourable to the Central Powers.

The best bet of the propagandists was the American of German stock whose sympathies spontaneously rallied to the defence of the fatherland, sorely beset by twenty-two foes. Americans of German descent formed a powerful nucleus in every organization which, directly or indirectly, willingly or unwillingly, played Germany's game. It should be said, in justice to the German-Americans, that Americans of British descent rallied just as spontaneously to the standards of the Entente. While British propaganda re-echoed from many Episcopalian pulpits, the Germans found their support mainly in the Lutheran churches, where in many cases the German language persisted. It was not necessary to subsidize the elements represented by these groups. They were naturally pro-German, but propaganda stiffened their backbone and made their leaders more militant.

Americans of German descent, knowing the discipline of the German Army, felt that their kinsmen could not change overnight from jovial fathers, cousins, and brothers into inhuman monsters. To them the tales of German atrocities seemed the deliberate inventions of malignant foes.

Not content with branding all Germans as barbarians without discrimination, every despatch now mowed down entire regiments with one stroke of the pen. Every "extra" exterminated a German army. Here Allied propaganda overreached itself, because the uninterrupted German advance tended to discredit all despatches from Allied sources.

Every mile which the Germans advanced in Belgium and France increased the moral indignation of England and her Allies. Atrocities grew thick and fast. Soon, to judge by newspaper headlines, hardly

a Belgian baby was left with both hands intact. To-day we recognize these cock-and-bull stories as the spawn of propaganda. In the early days of the War they were literally believed by millions of Americans.

Uncritical acceptance of these lurid tales was by no means confined to the masses. A cartoon in a great metropolitan newspaper showed William II and Francis Joseph disporting themselves like boys in a pool shouting: "Come in, the blood is fine!" Another New York newspaper of high intellectual standards, *The Sun*, said editorially that Germans could no longer be regarded as human beings!

Until the War the German Government had paid scant attention to its emigrated sons. The trip to America of Prince Henry of Prussia in 1902 marks the first recognition by the German Government of the German-Americans. The German Government did not attempt to create a state within a state. But German statesmen, some twenty-five years ago, realized that Germany's emigrated sons were a political asset. After this they received grudging recognition, and now and then a German-American was the blushing recipient of some minor decoration.

When the Germans arrived in New York they found George Sylvester Viereck at the head of a pro-German weekly, *The Fatherland*, flaunting from all news-stands the colours of the Central Powers. The first issue of *The Fatherland* that appeared on the news-stands bore the date of August 10, 1914. The American press, annoyed by the one-sided reports which it received from abroad, hailed the new publication, just as it welcomed pro-German columns conducted by H. L. Mencken, in the *Baltimore Sun*, and by Edmund von Mach in the *Boston Transcript*. But these contributions were drops in an ocean of pro-Ally propaganda. *The Fatherland* was undiluted pro-Germanism. Arising spontaneously in response to a

world-wide need, it became the spokesman in the English language of pro-Germans everywhere. Its influence, far exceeding its circulation, reached from North to South America. It stretched across the ocean to Asia and Africa. Its American origin enabled it to escape the English censor.

Taking their cue from Kipling, the pro-Allies in the United States began to speak of the Germans as "Huns." Many German-Americans who had been completely Americanized and whose ties with Germany or German culture were almost completely severed, were forced into the pro-German camp by defamations of this sort. Bewildered, aggrieved, insulted, they retaliated as best they could. The resentment sweeping over the German element of our population crystallized, almost overnight, in *The Fatherland*. German-language papers did not serve the purpose because they did not reach Americans of other than German descent. Moreover, millions of naturalized German-Americans never buy German-language publications. The process of Americanization is so impetuous that the second generation hardly speaks or reads German. What was needed was a mouthpiece in English.

George Sylvester Viereck, poet and journalist, and three of his friends, a young banker, Alfred Rau, a young chemist, Hans H. Hinrichs, and a young broker, Fritz Borgemeister, met and agreed that something ought to be done to ensure fair play for Germany and to safeguard the interests of American citizens of German descent who suffered keenly from the assaults on their kinsmen.

"Why not," Viereck suggested, "publish a magazine that will print the truth?"

"It must be a weekly," someone said, "because events move quickly."

"What shall we call it?"

A variety of names was discussed. Finally, as a

gesture of defiance against the attacks upon their ancestry, they decided to call it *The Fatherland*.

"What will it cost to bring out the first issue?"

"We can probably print ten thousand copies for two hundred dollars," remarked Viereck.

Each of the participants pledged fifty dollars a week to pay for the expense of the first few numbers. But no contributions were needed. *The Fatherland* immediately caught on. It was necessary to reprint the first issue many times and within a month the circulation exceeded 100,000. Voluntary contributions came with every mail. The young organization was unequipped for this situation. Waste-paper baskets full of letters, many of them containing hundreds of dollars, lay unanswered for days, before it was possible to improvise a staff. The four friends contributed their time freely without thought of profit. The group was joined immediately by Frederick Franklin Schrader, then editor of a dramatic weekly, an American newspaper man of long standing, and, for one week, by Louis Sherwin, of the *New York Globe*. The editor of the *Globe* compelled Sherwin to resign immediately.

One of the contributors to *The Fatherland* was Aleister Crowley, a British poet, who has been compared to Swinburne as a master of metrics. Crowley dabbled with black magic and propaganda! He edited Viereck's belletristic magazine, *The International*, in which many writers of the modern school won their first spurs. Crowley subsequently boasted of being in the British Secret Service, but his claims are repudiated by Sir William Wiseman. Thus, with recruits from many ranks, including black magicians, *The Fatherland* grew.

The German steamship companies were eager to place at Germany's disposal a large force of employees condemned to idleness by the blockade. Meeting the editor of *The Fatherland*, the steamship men, and other

influential pro-Germans at a New York club on Central Park South, Germany's newly-arrived ambassadors of propaganda, flanked by Embassy officials, adopted a programme of co-operation. Out of the negotiations grew the Propaganda Cabinet at 1123 Broadway, where Viereck, Dr. Dernburg and Dr. Fuehr occupied offices under the observant eye of the U.S. Secret Service.

The first meeting was rather stormy. The late Professor Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard University, and Dr. Hanns Heinz Ewers, exotic poet-novelist and globe-trotter, strongly urged the alliance with the editor of *The Fatherland*. Prince Hatzfeld, of the German Embassy, objected, but was overruled by Dr. Dernburg. This result was brought about partly by a passionate attack on the part of Ewers. The temperamental Ewers called German diplomacy "bovine." Dernburg did not contradict him.

Neither Ewers nor Münsterberg was a member of the Propaganda Cabinet. Münsterberg preferred to play a lone hand in purely intellectual circles, while Ewers was too colourful to fit into any organization. He wrote pro-German poems, delivered pro-German lectures, engaged in a variety of adventures, made two or three mysterious trips to Mexico and was finally interned in Fort Oglethorpe.

Propaganda among Americans of German descent and publicity in general were the special field of George Sylvester Viereck. He held, so to speak, the German-American portfolio in the Propaganda Cabinet. He shared with the late William Bayard Hale the portfolio of publicity. It was Viereck who advised the retention of Dr. Hale.

Early in life William Bayard Hale deserted the ministry for journalism. He looked back upon a distinguished literary career as an editor on *World's Work*, as literary editor of the *New York Times* and

special correspondent of the Hearst papers. Before the ascendancy of Colonel House, Hale was the confidential adviser of Woodrow Wilson. Hale is the author of *The New Freedom*. In the preface, Mr. Wilson expresses his indebtedness to Hale in glowing terms. After Wilson entered the White House, he entrusted Hale with a special mission to Mexico as his personal representative.

Hale was a handsome chap, tall, dark, subtle, and intellectual. His dark eyebrows met in a devilish fashion. Now and then the inextinguishable Pan broke through the hereditary restraints imposed upon his soul by centuries of Anglo-Saxon tradition. Hale's greatest journalistic triumph was his interview with the Kaiser in *The Century Magazine*. This interview was scheduled to appear shortly after a similar interview in a London paper, which made every political teapot in Germany boil over, and induced Prince Bülow to repudiate his imperial master in the Reichstag. In order to prevent another scandal of equal proportions, the German Government bought up the entire edition of *The Century Magazine* and dumped it into the ocean. However, a set of proofs found its way into the offices of a New York paper; its publication subjected the Kaiser to vitriolic criticism at home.

Hale, shortly after the outbreak of the War, demanded fair play for Germany. This statement made him the logical choice of the German propagandists. They needed not a press agent but a master mind, equally at home in journalism and in international politics. In the back of their minds lingered the hope that Hale held the key to the rear entrance of the White House. This hope was soon snuffed out by events.

Hale himself describes how one night a strange gentleman rang the bell of his apartment on Riverside Drive and introduced himself as Dr. Dernburg. The stranger frankly explained that he proposed to conduct

a publicity campaign for Germany in the United States and engaged Dr. Hale at a salary of approximately \$15,000 per annum.

The head of a German shipping concern in New York and his publicity man; Captain Ewald Hecker, of the German Red Cross; Fuehr, Mechlenburg, Meyer-Gerhardt, Albert, Dernburg, Hale, Viereck, and one of Viereck's associates, a banker, constituted the first Propaganda Cabinet. Dernburg presided. Meyer-Gerhardt and the German shipping men soon dropped out. Fuehr assumed the actual direction of the propaganda bureau. Responsibility rested upon his shoulders. All wires crossed in his hand.

Count Bernstorff attended no meetings of the cabinet, though individual members conferred with him in Washington and at the Ritz in New York. Captain von Papen and Captain Boy-Ed, the military and naval attachés of the Embassy, were cited when special information was needed. Now and then, an Irishman would appear before the cabinet with plans for Irish-German co-operation. Dr. I. Strauss was the Jewish spokesman. Occasionally Dernburg introduced a distinguished guest to shed light on some specific problem. But as a rule no stranger was permitted to participate in the cabinet meetings.

There were, of course, wheels within wheels. The German consul in New York was antagonistic to the Propaganda Cabinet and to the Embassy. Prince Hatzfeld, the right hand of Bernstorff, never forgave nor forgot his encounter with Ewers. He did not relish the job of explaining to an incredulous Secretary of State that the Embassy was not responsible for the hectic attacks on the Administration appearing week after week in *The Fatherland*. The professional diplomats found it hard to stomach the dynamic personality of Dr. Dernburg. The German Embassy shed no tears when the public clamour, aroused by Dernburg's speech

on the *Lusitania*, compelled the doctor to shake the dust of the United States from his feet.

The objective of German propaganda was threefold : to strengthen and replenish Germany ; to weaken and embarrass Germany's foes ; and to keep America out of the War by spreading the truth as the Germans saw it. This was the common end for which all pro-German forces laboured. The Embassy in Washington, the various consuls, divers mysterious emissaries of the German General Staff, the Propaganda Cabinet, and thousands of volunteer workers scattered throughout the country used every possible means to achieve their purpose.

The Ambassador abhorred illicit activities. At the repercussion of bombs set off in the holds of ships and in munition plants his plans to gain the confidence of the Administration fell like a house of cards. Dr. Fuehr eschewed all conspiracies. The aim of the Propaganda Cabinet was propaganda, not crime. It must be said, in justice to the Germans, that they never asked the American members of the cabinet to engage in any activity detrimental to the United States.

III

HIST ! A DICTAPHONE

Before I attempt to depict in detail the stream of propaganda pouring forth from 1123 Broadway, let me describe a cabinet meeting.

It is ten o'clock in the morning in the fall of 1914. The tall, angular figure of Dr. Hale is bent over some papers in a whispered consultation with Fuehr. Viereck is chatting with Albert. The press agent of the steamship line spreads out before him a large number of reprints from a news sheet which he edits under the direction of Dr. Fuehr. The banker member of the

committee is busy with figures, while the shipping man, very elegant and immaculate, yawns to himself. Captain Hecker, who is tall enough to be one of the grenadiers so sedulously collected by Frederick William I of Prussia, is telling a funny story to Meyer-Gerhardt. Meyer-Gerhardt pretends to listen while his methodical mind is grappling with other problems. Mechlenburg rushes in from the adjoining room with the typewritten minutes of the previous meeting. To the outsider these records are unintelligible. The names of all participants are fantastically disguised: such as F(ake) Smith and Dr. Wilhelm!

Suddenly steps are heard from without. It is Dr. Bernhard Dernburg. All those who are seated rise as a mark of respect. Dernburg is heavy but alert. In contrast with the finicky attire of the others, he dresses negligently. It is evident that he is not interested in details. Impatient, impetuous, he overrides opposition, although he can, on occasion, acknowledge defeat with a gracious smile. Dernburg can be delightfully entertaining, but he lacks the small social graces. He is more successful in presenting an argument on the platform than in the small talk of the drawing-room. He does not like professional soldiers or professional diplomats. In order not to be bulldozed by them, he is sometimes compelled to be rude. He is to pay for this afterwards.

Entering almost blusteringly, Dernburg brings with him a wave of activity. Unfolding a manuscript, he starts to read. Frequently interrupting himself by explanatory remarks, he analyses the political situation in the United States. He quotes from editorials in New York, Chicago, and Washington, prepared for his perusal. He replies to various charges levelled against the German invasion of Belgium. Belgium, he insists, had a secret treaty with England and France. He flaunts a sheaf of documents purporting to embody

the secret agreement between Belgium and Great Britain.

With an eloquent gesture, Dernburg intrusts the facsimile of letters exchanged between General Ducarne and Colonel Barnardiston to the editor of *The Fatherland*, who will arrange to publish them in a booklet as well as in his magazine. The distribution of this booklet, Dr. Fuehr insists, must be nation-wide. "Let us send it," he says, "to all the men and women listed in *Who's Who*, to all members of Congress, to all members of the state legislatures."

"Don't forget," shouts the publicity man, "all the newspapers and all the weeklies!"

The shipping man places at the disposal of the committee twenty or thirty thousand selected names.

Echoes of Dernburg's exposé will soon appear in the broadsides sent out by the publicity man of the steamship line, in the entire pro-German press. Dr. Fuehr will transmit it by cable to Mexico and South America. Dr. Dernburg himself will embroider the subject in a special article for a metropolitan newspaper or in a lecture. The Ambassador will use the arguments advanced by Dr. Dernburg in his conversations with the Secretary of State.

The animated debate which follows gives Dernburg an opportunity to test the effect of his statement. Dr. Hale would like to play the documents surreptitiously into the hands of an American newspaperman. He does not like the direct attack. He prefers the stiletto to the sledge hammer. Dernburg insists that at times the hammer is needful. He has no objection to the stiletto.

Dr. Albert rises to offer a criticism. To emphasize his point, he draws from his pocket a letter which he has just received from Bethmann-Hollweg.

Was that a step in the hall? Was there a rustling behind the door?

Ever alert, the publicity man rushes out to see if anyone is listening, but the hall is empty. Dr. Albert resumes his reading.

"Hist!" The stage whisper emanates from the publicity man. "Have you examined the room?"

"Not to-day," replies Dr. Fuehr. "Plage!" he calls. One of his assistants appears, clicking his heels. They converse in subdued tones. It seems that one of the staff of translators is an electrical engineer. But where is he? Dernburg leans back sullenly. Albert paces the room like a caged tiger. The proceedings of the committee are at a standstill.

At last Plage appears with the engineer, who comes out of the elevator munching a sandwich. He, too, clicks his heels. Then he begins to examine the room. He looks behind the pictures, he moves the map from the wall, he examines the moulding, he investigates the lighting fixtures and the telephone. In vain! No machine is revealed. The meeting is resumed.

Much later I ascertained that the secret service men had installed a listening device in the telephone. There was no necessity for this precaution. Most German officials, much to the disgust of the Irish, considered it their duty to make a written record of every transaction. They attempted to secure privacy for these papers by marking them "confidential" or "very secret."

The Germans were unable to keep anything for themselves. Every memorandum they ever made seems to have fallen into the hands of the British Secret Service or the Department of Justice. Some of the propagandists were in the habit of keeping diaries. All of them carried portfolios.

These were minor misfortunes. They rocked the boat but did not destroy it. The German propaganda craft was wrecked by German torpedoes. Whenever the propagandists had succeeded in inveigling public



NOTRE-DAME DE
STRASBOURG

AS IT SEEMED TO THE ALLIES

Pro-French propaganda in the United States is a constant reminder to the Allies that they are not alone in their protest against violation by the Germans of the armistice.

AS IT SEEMED TO THE GER- MANS

German propaganda for the French Catholics is a cover for French machine guns.



"NEUGENDOERFER BLATTER." COLLECTED BY AVENARIUS

opinion against the Allied aggressions, bang!—another American ship would be blown up by a submarine.

IV

THE PERISCOPE ON THE HORIZON

In spite of the handicap imposed upon German propaganda in the United States by the obtuseness of some German bureaucrats, the average American was in a mood to weigh the evidence impartially. British interferences with American rights on the high seas had helped to counteract the effect of the German invasion of Belgium. Dr. Dernburg's lectures were attracting favourable attention. Dr. Albert's affairs were prospering. He succeeded in making several shipments of rubber and cotton to Germany through neutral channels, and every American cargo seized by the Allies was fuel for German propaganda.

The military decision seemed to favour the Central Powers. If nothing untoward happened, the negotiations between President Wilson and Count Bernstorff looking toward American intervention for peace would lead to a favourable conclusion. The Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, and many members of Congress, subjected to constant bombardment by pro-Germans as well as by Americans without German affiliations who desired to keep America out of the War, were strongly in favour of some declaration requesting American citizens not to travel on British ships. The German propagandists were in high fettle. But there was always a periscope on the horizon!

"Sooner or later," remarked the editor of *The Fatherland*, addressing the Propaganda Cabinet, "a German U-boat will sink a large passenger steamer carrying many Americans."

The Propaganda Cabinet listened in glum silence.

"Something must be done," Viereck insisted.

"Done about what?" asked the press agent of the shipping concern.

"Sooner or later," replied the young editor, "some big passenger boat with Americans on board will be sunk by a submarine. Then there will be hell to pay. Public opinion is veering around once more to neutrality. The American people are equally disgusted with the transgressions of both belligerents against the freedom of the seas, but dramatize the resentment against submarine warfare by sinking one of the large passenger ships and it will be difficult to prevent a rupture of diplomatic relations."

"This is war," said one of the German naval experts, who was occasionally present at conferences such as these. "The British blockade, starving thousands of German children, is more inhuman than our submarine warfare."

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, seated at the head of the table, cocked his ear.

"The American people," Viereck, the one-time poet of passion continued, "cannot visualize one hundred thousand or a million children starving by slow degrees as a result of the British food blockade, but they can visualize the pitiful face of a little child drowning amid the wreckage caused by the torpedo of a German submarine."

Albert's keen mind immediately seized the importance of the discussion.

"You do not think," he said, addressing Doctor Hale, "that we can persuade Mr. Bryan to issue a warning to all American passengers against entrusting their lives to any ship flying the flag of the belligerents?"

"We could persuade Mr. Bryan," said Hale, shaking back the devilish lock from his forehead, "but the Administration is adamant against any such warning

because it would establish a precedent that may inconvenience us in the future."

"What about Congress?" some one asked.

"You can never pass a bill forbidding American citizens the right of way on the ocean, in spite of the fact that Senator Stone of Missouri, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, advocates such a course. It has been tried and failed."

"What do you propose, Mr. Viereck?" inquired Doctor Dernburg, looking at the editor of *The Fatherland* who, ever restless, was pacing up and down the room.

"If the American Government refuses to issue a warning, it is clearly the duty of the German Government to publish such an admonition in unmistakable terms."

"That is quite unnecessary," remarked the naval man. "The German Government has issued a general warning proclaiming the waters around Great Britain a war zone in retaliation against England's refusal to abide by the Declaration of London."

"That warning," Viereck shouted, "is too remote. You should issue a warning that will reach every American passenger who risks his life by travelling in Allied bottoms."

"The Allies call those Americans their Guardian Angels," snorted the naval man.

"Why?" asked Dernburg, nonplussed for the moment.

"Because they guard with their lives the munition shipments of the Entente."

"Guardian angels or no," Viereck remarked, "the German Government should warn them. Some go out of sheer dare-deviltry. Still others embark upon these ships for the sake of convenience and because they fail to realize that England has lost the proud title

E

of Mistress of the Seas. The German torpedo has shot the trident, symbol of the rule of the seas, out of the hands of John Bull."

"What do you think of Mr. Viereck's suggestion?" Doctor Dernburg addressed Hale.

Hale was not ready to commit himself. "I would prefer," he said, "a more indirect method. Let the warning be disseminated in some more subtle manner. I still prefer," he added smilingly, "the Florentine dagger to the sledge hammer of the Teutonic War God."

"An indirect warning," the editor of *The Fatherland* interjected, "would not absolve the German Government from blame if a major catastrophe resulted from the explosion from a German torpedo. Many innocent Americans do not realize that they are travelling on floating arsenals disguised as passenger boats."

"What," asked Doctor Fuehr, "is the date of the departure of the next passenger ship?"

The publicity man of the German steamship line consulted a newspaper.

"The next large passenger ship," he said, "is the *Lusitania*."

"Then," shouted the editor of *The Fatherland*, "publish a warning before the *Lusitania* sails."

Doctor Dernburg put the suggestion to a vote. It was unanimously adopted. Dernburg talked quietly to Viereck and to Hale. The two men both agreed to prepare the wording of such a warning. The next day Viereck and Hale submitted the text upon which they had agreed.

"I think," said Doctor Fuehr, "this matter must be submitted to the Embassy. Count von Bernstorff must decide if the warning is to be issued in the name of the Admiralty, the German Government or the Embassy."

The Ambassador considered the matter of such importance that he consulted Berlin. Cables flew hither and thither. Berlin voiced no objection and one week before the *Lusitania* cleared port, the German Embassy startled the world by inserting in the newspapers throughout the country, in the form of a paid advertisement, an announcement that is now history:

Travellers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her Allies and Great Britain and her Allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or of any of her Allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that passengers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her Allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1915.

The announcement made a sensation, but it was not taken very seriously. Friends of Great Britain pointed out that the Germans were trying to proclaim not a paper but a newspaper blockade of Great Britain. The Captain of the *Lusitania*, and the English shipping world in general, refused to pay any attention to the warning. Prospective passengers, when interviewed, laughingly defied the German bluff. Owing to this attitude, few passengers cancelled their reservations when the *Lusitania* proudly sailed on her last voyage.

Immediately after the conference of the Propaganda Cabinet, Viereck rushed to his desk and inserted, in the forthcoming issue of *The Fatherland*, an editorial, once more warning Americans against entrusting their lives to British ships. Mindful of the recent discussion in which the *Lusitania* had been mentioned, he wrote:

The *Gulflight*, carrying contraband through the war zone, paid the penalty of her foolhardiness. Before long, a large passenger ship like the *Lusitania*, carrying implements of murder to Great Britain, will meet with a similar fate.

The issue in which this warning appeared was dated a week ahead of its publication. Little did the editor dream that, before the ink was dry on his editorial, Walter Schwieger, Captain of the U20, had embarked on his fateful trip. Little did the Captain know what destiny had in store for him.

The issue of *The Fatherland* with Viereck's editorial was hardly on the news stands when the streets were filled with the clamorous "Extras" announcing the sinking of the *Lusitania*. New York gasped with horror. The Propaganda Cabinet was aghast. The very thing they had tried to forestall had happened. American lives were lost. America was on the verge of war.

There was indeed hell to pay.

The British Ambassador, Sir Cecil A. Spring-Rice, in an official complaint to the State Department, accused the editor of *The Fatherland* of a "guilty foreknowledge" of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. It was probably the first time in American history that the Ambassador of a great power complained to the State Department, officially, concerning an American citizen; Viereck countered by accusing the British Ambassador of encouraging recruiting on American soil. The State Department pigeonholed both complaints.

It is difficult to recall to-day the intensity of excitement prevailing in New York as a result of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The Germans had hired the Metropolitan Opera House for a charity concert at which Madam Gadski was to sing the German national hymn. Rumours were rife that the opera house would be blown up by Allied sympathizers. In deference to the public excitement, Madam Gadski

refrained from singing "Deutschland über Alles" but substituted the triumphant war-cry of the Valkyrie. The facts that her husband was Captain Tauseber, the representative of Krupp's in the United States, did not assuage the resentment of the pro-Allies. In view of the violent newspaper comment after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the editor of *The Fatherland* called up Doctor Dernburg and asked him for advice on how to pour oil on the troubled waters.

"Print the ship's manifest of the *Lusitania*," Doctor Dernburg replied, "and point out that the *Lusitania* is officially listed as an auxiliary cruiser. He knew the fact—denied subsequently but definitely established by Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the port of New York—that the *Lusitania* had carried cartridges and picric acid. Doctor Dernburg himself went to Cleveland, where he was scheduled to make a speech. He attempted to defend the sinking of the *Lusitania*. His speech raised such a violent storm of resentment that he was compelled to return to Germany under safe conduct of the British Government, obtained by the State Department.

The true story of the *Lusitania* warning has never been told before. It does not absolve the Germans from the responsibility accepted by their government after a heated interchange of notes between Berlin and Washington—but it proves that the publication of the warning, just before the sailing of the *Lusitania*, was purely accidental. Neither the man who suggested the warning, nor the German Embassy, could foresee that the *Lusitania* would be singled out by a German submarine commander. Even the German Admiralty was apparently ignorant of the fact. Submarine commanders had been warned to refrain from attacking large passenger liners. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to convince the world of Germany's innocence. The fact that the *Lusitania* was

sunk immediately after the warning, as if to make that warning effective, is imbedded so deeply in the minds of historians and in popular memory that it will be impossible to uproot the impression that the German Embassy in Washington had indeed a guilty foreknowledge.

The torpedo that sank the *Lusitania* struck the heart of America. The newspapers were seething with anger. However, many Americans commanding public respect, including Vice-President Marshall, Senator William J. Stone, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Senator William E. Borah, Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, attempted to calm the storm, contending that any American citizen who put his foot on a ship flying the English flag was practically on English soil; an American neglecting the German warning did so at his peril. It is interesting to recall these statements now because they illustrate that public opinion was still divided, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Nevertheless, these were anxious days for the Germans!

Whether the sinking of the *Lusitania* itself was due to the blunder of a German commander, or whether it was part of a deep-laid plan to terrorize the seas, Germany paid for it with the loss of the War, and is paying for it to this day with billions in reparations. It is doubtful if the United States would have entered the War in 1917 in spite of all propaganda, if the *Lusitania* had not been sunk, with a loss of 114 American lives.

If German propaganda had been an uphill fight all along, the German propagandists were now almost buried by an avalanche of indignation. The Germans had played into the hands of their enemies. The sinking of the *Lusitania* made it possible for the Allies eventually to rally almost the entire world against Germany.

German propaganda worked at high speed to overcome the effect of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Congress proved itself more amenable than the press. Concentrating all his diplomatic gifts upon President Wilson, Count Bernstorff prevented a rupture of diplomatic relations. In prolonging the period of American abstention, the propagandists probably did a disservice to Germany. In the light of subsequent events it would have been better, from Germany's point of view, if the United States had entered the fray before Germany was completely exhausted and the Allies too embittered to permit the peace envisaged by Woodrow Wilson. This is one of the ironies of fate which no one could foresee in 1915. On the other hand, if German propaganda had stayed our hand a little longer, the War would have ended probably in a stalemate before the A.E.F. smashed the Hindenburg Line.

V

THE PURLOINED PORTFOLIO

Before the storm evoked by the *Lusitania* affair had abated, another disaster struck the German Propaganda Cabinet like a cyclone. Dr. Albert lost his portfolio. As a matter of fact it was not lost but purloined. The Sixth Avenue Elevated in New York City was the scene of his rout. He had been talking to the editor of *The Fatherland*, who got off at 23rd Street. At 50th Street Albert left the train without his portfolio. He turned back almost instantly, but the brief case was gone! The brief case snuggled serenely under the arm of a man who hurried from the car at the next station. If the German Government had provided Albert with an automobile or a bodyguard, this disaster would have been averted. Governments

reckless in some matters, are at times prodigiously stingy.

The Germans blamed the English Intelligence Bureau for the disappearance of Dr. Albert's papers. Others attributed the feat to our own Secret Service. The British Secret Service maintains that the man who purloined Dr. Albert's portfolio was a member of a group known as the Bohemian Union. Dr. Masaryk, from his headquarters in London, had organized a secret service to shadow all German and Austrian officials in the United States. Speaking German perfectly, they were able to place their men in the German and Austrian consulates. They attended every pro-German conference, gaining the confidence of all the pro-Germans. One Czechoslovakian had shadowed Albert for three days, waiting for just such an opportunity. The moment Albert's back was turned, he shot toward the portfolio as a shark leaps for his prey.

The American explanation of the mystery of the purloined portfolio is furnished by W. H. Houghton of the United States Secret Service, in the *Saturday Evening Post*:

"Early in the year 1915 President Wilson sent for William J. Flynn, who was then Chief of the United States Secret Service, and instructed him to make a discreet but thorough investigation of the activities of Count von Bernstorff and his staff, as it had been reported they were violating all the rules of neutrality, and the President wanted facts.

"Flynn selected the following men to aid him in this investigation: Bill Nye, Frank Burke, Steve Connell, Myles McCahill and W. H. Houghton. Later as the scope of the investigation broadened, this force was increased.

"The day Doctor Albert's bag was secured, Viereck left his office at 1 P.M. on a hot Saturday afternoon late in July, and he was followed closely by Hough-

ton, and when Viereck entered the offices of the Hamburg American Line, Houghton phoned to Flynn, who was at his office, located a short distance away in the Custom House. At 2.30 p.m. Houghton was joined by Franck Burke, and at 3 p.m. Viereck and Dr. Albert left 42 Broadway and boarded the Sixth Avenue L at Rector Street. At Twenty-third Street Viereck left the train, followed by Houghton, and soon after Doctor Albert fell asleep and awoke with a start when the L was gliding into the Fiftieth Street Station, where he was due to leave, as he had to change to the shuttle, as he was going to Fifty-ninth Street. Albert rushed from the train, forgetting his precious bag, and came to his senses as the guard slammed the gates, shouting the name of the next station.

"Burke, being fast on the bases, walked over and sat on the bag, and at the next station reached down and walked off, unobserved, with the bag, as the only other passenger in that car was a girl reading a book. The following Monday this ad was noticed in the columns of the *New York Evening Telegram* :

"LOST.—On Saturday, on 3.30 Harlem elevated train, at 50th St. station, brown leather Bag, containing documents. Deliver to G. H. HORTMAN, 5 East 47th St. against \$20 reward."

"So close was this coup kept a secret that when the *New York World* published some of Dr. Albert's letters, A. Bruce Bielaski, who had charge of the investigation of German activities, sent an agent to the editors demanding the original letters and asking how they came by them. This caused a few quiet chuckles in secret-service circles."

Whatever the facts in the portfolio mystery were, the Albert brief case was immediately turned over to President Wilson. The President entrusted the hornet's nest to Colonel House. Photostatic copies found their way into the offices of the *New York World*.

Dr. Albert himself did not know all the contents of his portfolio. One of his correspondents offered an option on a large press association supplying thousands of small papers with boiler plate, for \$900,000. Another letter outlined a plan to purchase the *New York Evening Mail*. America was startled by the discovery that publications in the United States, and American correspondents in Europe, received subsidies from the German Government in one form or another. There were serious suggestions from practical people, but there were also harebrained schemes which Dr. Albert would no doubt have tossed into the waste-paper basket if he had looked at them before gathering them up in his ample portfolio.

Soon inquiries made by the *New York World* into various phases of Albert's activities revealed the enormity of his loss. When the matter was discussed in the Propaganda Cabinet, a distinguished German official did not believe that the contents of the brief case would be published.

"They are private papers!" he shouted.

"But, *Herr Geheimrat*," remarked Hale, "this is a World War!"

The cabinet discussed various plans to stop the publication. Some one suggested an injunction, but it was pointed out that this would only attract more attention and would enable the newspaper to publish the contents of the portfolio indirectly by making the purloined correspondence a part of the court procedure. A hectic automobile trip took Dr. Albert, Dr. Fuehr and the editor of *The Fatherland* to the house of an influential attorney. The attorney kept the wires to Washington and to the office of the newspaper busy. He talked to Tumulty and he talked to a member of the cabinet. However, all efforts were unavailing. The mischief was afoot, and its course could not be halted.

The publication of the Albert papers was a German catastrophe. It dramatized German propaganda. Henceforth the Allied propagandists could go as far as they liked. The stamp of propaganda was fastened upon the Germans. Every character in the pro-German cast strutted across the newspaper headlines a villain. Other nations, too, were intriguing, but the Germans were caught red handed.

It was a veritable nest of intrigue, conspiracy, and propaganda that reposed placidly in Dr. Albert's brief case. The inner workings of the propaganda machine were laid bare. The exposure of Albert's activities destroyed the element of camouflage, essential to propaganda success. Dozens of persons who had never been associated in the public eye with the German cause found themselves exposed and excoriated. Members of both houses of Congress, distinguished attorneys and journalists, who had no connection at all with the Germans, found it difficult to explain the fact that their names appeared in this correspondence. The innocent were implicated with the guilty. Legitimate efforts for publicity, for the publication of books, pamphlets, and magazines, were confused with illicit activities. German propaganda became German conspiracy.

A veritable box of Pandora, Albert's portfolio unloosed every half-hatched plan of the Germans. Germany appeared in the act of buying up munition plants surreptitiously to prevent shipments to Europe. She was discovered stirring up Southern interests to advocate an embargo on arms unless Great Britain consented to take cotton off the contraband list. There were sinister suggestions of strikes in munition plants. Germany's good faith in her relations with the United States was seriously impugned by the advice of one of Albert's correspondents, a German official, to delay the shipment of chemicals

and dyestuffs badly needed by American manufacturers, even if Great Britain should permit them to pass the blockade, in order to exert pressure on the American Government.

The Albert papers established the connection between various organizations working for peace or for an embargo on arms, and the agents of the German Government, thereby discrediting all efforts in this direction, even those which were utterly innocent of any contact with propaganda.

Albert issued an astute statement explaining and defending his course. But the propagandist who is compelled to explain or to defend himself is already lost. He can no longer fire from ambush. His guns are no longer concealed. The loss of the Albert portfolio was like the loss of the Marne. The most brilliant subsequent manœuvres never enabled the Germans to regain the lost ground. Most members of the Propaganda Cabinet did not realize the full importance of the Albert disclosures. They underestimated its effect on their campaign to capture public opinion in the same manner in which the German General Staff underestimated the effect of the first Battle on the Marne, which foredoomed to defeat their efforts to bring France to her knees.

VI

THE BATTLE OF THE TWO PROPAGANDAS

Months before the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the Albert portfolio incident, *The Fatherland*, though born spontaneously of honest indignation, had become, almost inadvertently, a cog in the machinery of propaganda. After the publication of the letters in the purloined Albert brief case, it was the butt of every pro-Ally propagandist. One year after its

birth, it was smeared all over with propaganda in the eyes of the public. However, it maintained a policy of its own at variance with the plans of the German Ambassador.

Albert, Dernburg, Fuchr, and other German propaganda chiefs protested vigorously and persistently against the attacks made by *The Fatherland* on the Administration. But the propaganda magicians could no longer control the spirits which they had summoned. Pro-German Americans were more pro-German than the Germans themselves. They swallowed German propaganda with the same avidity with which Allied sympathizers imbibed the propaganda dished out to them by the Allies.

Various imitations of *The Fatherland* sprang up, most of which were constantly in need of financial succour. Small Irish race papers likewise made constant demands upon the exchequer. Count Bernstorff personally subsidized a small Washington weekly which owed whatever distinction it may have possessed to the fact that a relative of President Wilson was among its contributors. In some cases requests for financial support came directly and the aid was given in a similar manner. In other cases both requests and contributions flowed through camouflaged channels.

The Fatherland, which had reached a circulation of more than one hundred and twenty thousand, was self-supporting. It received some aid in the form of subscriptions and it profited substantially from purchasing pamphlets and books below cost from the propagandists. Dr. Albert was anxious to assume control of *The Fatherland* because its virulent attacks on the Administration proved embarrassing to Count Bernstorff. The editor of *The Fatherland* refused to submit to such control, and the negotiations fell through.

The way of the propagandist is hard! "America," Count Bernstorff once sighed to me, "is the most indiscreet country in the world. Everybody talks. No one can keep a secret. And every one who once received a dollar from the Imperial German Government expects to remain on its pay roll for life."

A large number of small race papers was subsidized by Austria-Hungary. One motive for subsidizing these publications was the desire to inflame discontent among Austro-Hungarian workmen employed in the war industries. The German Government repeatedly aided German-language newspapers in financial distress. In one case the subsidy was paid in the form of innocuous-looking advertisements. Many of these facts are known to me personally. Most of them appear in the records of the Department of Justice and of the Overman Committee appointed by Congress to investigate the brewing interests and propaganda.

It is a matter of record that *Fair Play*, published by a Hungarian-American known at one time as a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, received at various times payments amounting to \$10,000. Testimony before the Overman Committee reveals that the *American Independent* in San Francisco obtained \$1,500 a month from the German consul general.

In the battle of propagandas that now ensued, those American citizens of German descent who had taken up the cudgels for Germany were called "disloyalists," "traitors," and "Huns" by the pro-Allies. Colonel Watterson denounced the editor of *The Fatherland* as a "venom-bloated toad of treason." Similar epithets were hurled at pro-Germans everywhere. In vain they protested that they owed no allegiance to the British crown, that their sole loyalty was to the United States. Their close association with German propaganda made it hard for their fellow citizens to distinguish between them and the Germans.

The battles of propaganda and counter propaganda were fought without regard to rule. Intimidation and bribery were convenient weapons.

The dashing Guy Gaunt himself was caught at one time in a net of his own making. But he extricated himself without suffering in reputation. The story, which has never been told in full, involved an office boy, Arthur H., employed as a messenger by Dr. Karl Fuehr, the German propaganda chief, and George Sylvester Viereck.

Every day Arthur travelled from 1123 Broadway, the headquarters of the propagandists, to the office of Dr. Albert on lower Broadway. One day the lad was stopped by two or three men who invited him to follow them to the British Consulate. Here he met the British Naval Attaché, who attempted to elicit much information from him and asked him if he had ever carried confidential messages.

The Attaché showed the boy a "drawer full of money."

"If," he said, according to the boy's affidavit, "you are there with the information, I will be there with the money."

Gaunt asked the boy to communicate with him by telephone if he had anything to report. The boy received one dollar to pay for telephone calls!

The boy immediately reported the incident to Dr. Fuehr, who, together with Viereck, devised a trap for the British diplomat. Subsequently, the boy did not see Guy Gaunt again.

Both Viereck and Fuehr listened in on several conversations between the boy and one of Guy Gaunt's agents. The lad and the British detective met at various places, shadowed each time by detectives. Fuehr entrusted the boy with various unimportant documents which he turned over for small emoluments to the British. Finally, Viereck prepared two highly

compromising letters, so written that they would be published within a stated time because of certain allusions to the approaching anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

One of the letters suggested the expenditure of \$10,000 to influence certain Anglican clergymen to preach against the shipment of arms. The other letter was equally tempting. However, if one underlined certain words in the first letter, the following message appeared: "Faked for the special benefit of *The New York World*." The propagandists suspected that the British would take the correspondence to *The New York World*, which had made a speciality of exposing German plots.

The second letter contained a similarly concealed message reading: "The Naval Attaché of the British Embassy is a Thief." For these incriminating documents, the boy received money from Guy Gaunt's agents, and was promised a motorcycle. Needless to say, he was also rewarded by his employers.

Viereck and Fuehr intended to wait until the letters were printed in some newspaper. Then they expected to decipher the code and to expose the diplomat. They hoped to create a scandal, compelling the American Government to demand Captain Guy Gaunt's recall. They expected that their correspondence would be safe after such an exposure. No newspaper would dare to publish another incriminating letter from a German for fear of landing another gold brick.

The Germans sought the advice of an influential Irish attorney. They knew that the British diplomat was immune from arrest. No such status protected his agent. The attorney pointed out to them the inadvisability of swearing out a warrant for the arrest of the agent. If the case went awry they would be exposed to a suit for damages. Considerable influence was used to persuade the District Attorney to take

action. The District Attorney did not want to burn his fingers. Every move of the Germans was mysteriously checked.

Perhaps the Germans would have summoned up enough courage to swear out a warrant, but the German Embassy, anxious to disarm public indignation aroused by the indiscreet activities of its own attachés, insisted upon the premature publication of the intermezzo. Without waiting for the psychological moment, Dr. Hale "exposed" Captain Guy Gaunt. The story caused no detonation. It fell flatter than flat. Guy Gaunt's attorneys told him to "laugh the matter off," which he did.

Dr Hale, in his exposure, had not published the two letters from Viereck. One of the letters still reposes in some *dossier*. The other "incriminating" document was brought to Viereck's attention by a reporter of the *New York Herald* after America entered the War.

Viereck was somewhat nonplussed by the discovery. He had forgotten the details of the transaction. It took him almost half an hour to work out the hidden code message. The reporter believed that Viereck had invented the explanation. It seemed to him part of the devilish ingenuity with which public opinion credited the pro-Germans.

However, the affidavits in the hands of Viereck's attorney clinched the matter, and the *New York Herald* printed the letter together with Viereck's own explanation.

VII

CUCKOOS' EGGS

The Propaganda Cabinet established personal contacts between Germany's official spokesmen and American newspaper men. In the early part of the War

both editors and writers were not only willing but anxious to obtain information about Germany in this manner. These contacts were usually established at intimate little dinners in a private room of a club or a smart hotel. A famous newspaper man, Mr. S. S. McClure, had great difficulty in obtaining a passport from the British authorities after lunching with Dr. Dernburg, until, much to his delight, *The Fatherland* denounced him as a pro-Ally. After that he had no difficulty in securing his visa.

The activities of the Propaganda Cabinet were so manifold that it was necessary to carry on the work through sub-committees. One of these issued a daily information sheet sent free to the newspapers. It was composed chiefly of extracts from German newspapers. Every news item sent out was carefully indexed with a minuteness that would have done credit to the German General Staff. The information service also supplied the newspapers with photographs, maps and cuts. Much of this material seeped into the press, especially through small-town papers. The metropolitan dailies, too, made occasional use of the service. The information sheet would have been welcomed more cordially by the editors if it had been able to supply the news withheld by the British censor. Though labelled news, its contents were too obviously propaganda.

More important from the German point of view was the publication of interpretive articles in newspapers and magazines, preferably without German label. When England cut the German cable, Count Bernstorff's statements were eagerly sought by the press. After a little while this method of achieving publicity grew stale. Moreover, such statements subjected the Ambassador to the peril of involving himself in unwelcome controversies. It was then that Dernburg leaped into the breach. Dernburg's com-

mand of the English language was the envy of his associates. He wrote several masterly expositions of Germany's point of view for New York newspapers, which in turn syndicated them throughout the country. This was straightforward publicity. It was propaganda only in so far as these articles, always ably written, often concealed, like the scorpion, an unsuspected sting in their tale. Articles by Dr. Edmund von Mach, Professor Hugo Munsterberg, and other popular exponents of the German cause hovered also on the border line between education and propaganda.

The Propaganda Cabinet gave such publicity as it could to special articles and manifestos by German scholars. Frequently the German Foreign office would send long-winded documents for which it was almost impossible to find a berth in the daily press. These interminable literary tapeworms sometimes found a welcoming host in some newspaper. Articles by Americans without German associations were immediately seized up and reprinted. In many cases thousands of copies of magazines containing such articles were purchased and distributed through pro-German business houses.

Articles likely to prove effective weapons were reprinted as pamphlets. The smallest edition was twenty-five thousand. Some attained an edition of several hundred thousand. An article against the shipment of arms by a former government official reached more than three million readers. This pamphlet was distributed through every possible channel, especially through pro-German organizations suggesting by their name a purely American origin. One hundred and eighty thousand copies were mailed to mayors, governors, and legislators by the American Independence Union.

Twenty-five thousand copies of the German White Book and twenty-five thousand copies of *The Case*

Against Armed Merchantmen were distributed primarily among legislators and editors. All pamphlets were sold through the news company, through independent book stores, and through various pro-German publications. This was shrewd psychology. The average reader peruses more attentively something for which he has paid than something he gets for nothing. It is only heaven that is given away! The sale of pamphlets was a substantial source of income.

Dr. Dernburg's articles formed the basis of several pamphlets which attained an immense circulation. Other best sellers were: *The Truth About Germany*; *Germany's Just Cause*; *Germany and the War*; *The Case of Belgium*; *Current Misconceptions About the War*; *Germany's Hour of Destiny*, and so on. Millions of these pamphlets were circulated among pro-Germans and Irish sympathizers. They reached, however, a much larger circle because every reader, after familiarizing himself thus with the pro-German argument, spread the faith to the best of his ability among his neighbours. They fortified him with data for controversies and discussions with pro-Allies and neutrals.

British propagandists eagerly exploited the attacks by German pacifists against the German Government. The Germans, in turn, shouted from every house-top the opinions of British irreconcilables.

England on the Witness Stand: the Anglo-American Case Tried by a Jury of Englishmen—one of the first pamphlets published by *The Fatherland*—presents articles by Shaw, C. H. Norman, Ramsay MacDonald, E. D. Morel, Philip Snowden, M.P., Dr. P. C. Conybeare of Oxford and others.

Perhaps the most powerful pamphlet published was *The War Plotters of Wall Street*. This pamphlet purported to show the inter-relations between pro-Ally banks and pro-Ally munition makers. Diagrams of the interlocking directorates of munition plants, banks,

and insurance companies drove home the author's meaning effectively. This peppery document urged the readers to withdraw their funds from financial institutions subscribing to Allied loans.

Several voluminous pamphlets discussed the *Lusitania*. Numerous pacifist pamphlets, especially *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, by Hale, were distributed among the clergy. Another pamphlet, *The War Business in the United States*, was a compilation of Viereck's articles on munition shipments. The data for these articles were supplied by Captain von Papen, who obtained them through various agents in factories and through his connections in insurance circles. The information thus secured figured frequently in the debates of the United States Senate.

One of the first and most amusing pamphlets got out by the pro-Germans, *A Trip Through Headline Land*, reproduced, with caustic comment, the newspaper headlines announcing almost daily the complete destruction of the German Army, while Germany was taking fortress after fortress in Belgium and in France.

Both this pamphlet and *The Catechism of Balaam, Jr.*, which reached a circulation of a quarter of a million, owe their inception to Shaemas O'Sheel. The catechism recalls how the prophet Balaam tried to speak falsehood, but the ass he rode, being inspired by God, rebuked him by speaking the truth. It invites the reader to imagine a modern Balaam trying to bear false testimony while the ass, God-inspired, rebukes him.

More pretentious are two voluminous pamphlets edited by Dr. Hale, entitled *American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas*, and *Peace or War: The Great Debate of Twenty-six United States Senators and Eighty-nine Representatives in Congress*. *American Rights and British Pretensions* was published under a neutral imprint. An expensive edition of this pamphlet, luxuriously bound, was presented by Dr. Hale to

universities, libraries, colleges, and to all members of Congress.

Summarizing the purpose of this pamphlet, Dr. Hale says: "It aims to afford materials for such study of American interests in at least one aspect—the aspect which, as the months draw on, emerges as perhaps the most anxious object of our concern—the vindication of the right of neutral ships to sail the seas on peaceable errands with innocent cargoes. . . . Against Germany that right has been vindicated. It remains to assert it against Great Britain."

Peace or War takes up one hundred and fifty-five pages, reproducing the oratory released in the House by the McLemore resolution and in the Senate by the Gore resolution. These resolutions are discussed in detail in another chapter.

Another pamphlet of more than one hundred and forty-four pages deals with European politics during the decade before the War as described by Belgian diplomatists. This pamphlet was meant for the consumption of historical students. There were pamphlets intended primarily for bankers, like *The Imperial Russian Finances*, which warned Americans against investing money in Russia. Merely to enumerate all the pamphlets published in that time would fill several pages. Some of these pamphlets had the imprints of neutral publishers; almost all of them were financed or subsidized, directly or indirectly, by the Germans.

The presses were pouring forth every day books of Allied propaganda, disguised as learned historical discussions or as fiction. In the world of books, as well as in the sphere of the pamphlet, the pro-Allies joyfully clasped the German pacifists to their bosom. The British also arranged with great gusto for the reprints of the works of German militarists like Bernhardi. In the battle of books most of the Big Berthas were on the side of the Allies. For every book

got out by the pro-Germans the pro-Allies published ten. But the Germans, too, permitted no grass to grow under their feet. In view of the flood of propaganda forced down our throats, it is surprising that the American people did not suffer more acutely from mental dyspepsia.

The Germans succeeded in obtaining the imprint of Funk and Wagnalls for a book by Dr. Fuehr on Belgium. The Macmillan Company published a large volume by Dr. von Mach, subjecting the White Books of all nations to a critical review—a scholarly work, which nevertheless looked at the facts through pro-German spectacles. Small, Maynard & Company, in Boston, issued Delaisi's *The Inevitable War*, in which a French radical and pacifist forecasts the World War. Other publishers of equal prestige and reputation sponsored Professor Münsterberg's war books.

The Fatherland Corporation, disguising itself as the Jackson Press, brought out Count Reventlow's ferocious attack on England, *The Vampire of the Continent*. The manuscript of this book was sent by the German Foreign Office to the editor of *The Fatherland* on the submarine *Deutschland*. The German Propaganda Cabinet approved of a large loan made to the publishers of the *German Classics*, an ambitious work in twenty volumes, edited by Professor Kuno Francke of Harvard. Books by James K. McGuire linking the fate of Germany and Ireland were distributed on a large scale.

It is impossible to enumerate all publishers of propaganda books. The cuckoo of propaganda laid its eggs in every nest. There was, however, more joy in the Propaganda Cabinet over one pro-German book printed by a publisher with pro-Ally affiliations than over ninety-nine issuing from sources friendly to Germany. In most cases large numbers of copies were ordered and distributed through the usual channels.

The lecture platform was practically monopolized

by the British. But Dr. Dernburg made numerous speeches. A spirited debate on the War between George Sylvester Viereck and Gilbert Chesterton's temperamental brother Cecil, editor of the *New York Witness*, furnished a one-night sensation in New York. The Propaganda Cabinet attended this debate in full. A large number of pro-German speakers, among whom Dr. Eugene Kuehnemann was the most eloquent, appealed primarily to German-American audiences in innumerable Turn Halls and Vereins. Dr. von Mach and Dr. Hanns Heinz Ewers spoke in German and in English. Professor Kuno Meyer, the great authority on the Gaelic language, addressed himself both to the Germans and to the Irish. Many brilliant Irish orators joined the Germans in their prayer: "Gott strafe England." Now and then, Friends of Freedom for India would foregather with the pro-Germans and the pro-Irish to denounce the British.

VIII

TO BUY OR NOT TO BUY ?

When the War broke out, Germany, unlike England, did not have an American newspaper to support her unequivocally. There were the German language papers, of course, but the fact that they were printed in the tongue of the fatherland, immediately put them out of the race.

The temptation to buy some newspaper or, better even, some news-distributing agency, presented itself repeatedly. Count Bernstorff very sensibly refused to waste almost a million dollars of government money on a wild-goose chase. "If," he said, "it becomes known that a news agency is controlled by German interests it would never be a success. With the present animosity against Germany it would even mean risking the whole

enterprise. If, on the other hand, we operate the news service in such a cautious manner that the German interest cannot very well be discovered, it will not be of much use at all. At any rate, it will never be worth nine hundred thousand dollars."

Thwarted in their efforts to purchase an influential syndicate, the Germans spent huge amounts on cable tolls to spread pro-German news in Central and South America. Dr. Fuehr organized a camouflaged news agency. The amounts involved in this work can be gauged by the fact that he paid one hundred and forty thousand dollars in cable tolls to the Mexican Telephone Company from the first of January to the fifteenth of February, 1917!

The Germans also financed, to the tune of some fifty thousand dollars, a company to distribute pro-German films. Both the Germans and the Allies used the cinema for propaganda. Both sides exhibited stirring films from the battle front, but the moving picture for propaganda purposes did not come fully into its own until the United States entered the War.

From the day on which the Germans landed, the advisability of purchasing a metropolitan newspaper was the subject of animated discussion. It was the editor of *The Fatherland* who, in a letter to Dr. Albert, pointed out the necessity of counteracting British influence by obtaining control of a chain of newspapers and by organizing a system of news distribution. A half-hearted attempt was made to buy a rapidly declining New York evening paper—the *Evening Mail*—but only after Dr. Bernhard Dernburg threw himself into this project with the full weight of his energy was this deal consummated. It is claimed that the money for the purchase came from a rich German-American coffee merchant in Berlin. This seems to be established by the fact that the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York posthumously exonerated

Norvin H. Lindheim and S. Walter Kaufman, two distinguished attorneys, disbarred and sentenced to prison for the alleged offence of concealing the German ownership of the journal. Lindheim died before his final exoneration. Kaufman went back to the practice of the law but died soon after. The prosecution of these men contributed to their death. The purchase of the *Evening Mail* was never discussed by the Propaganda Cabinet, although individual members were familiar with the negotiations. The purchase of the paper gave the pro-Germans little comfort. Suspected of being pro-German, it was compelled to lean backward and was less aggressive in its advocacy of various measures desired by the pro-Germans than other newspapers to which no taint of suspicion attached.

Several other New York newspapers which were in the market and which were eventually purchased by Munsey, were discussed at one time or another by the pro-Germans. Various negotiations between a German-American publisher and Dr. Dernburg, in which a former governor of Texas figured, for the purchase of the *New York Sun* proved fruitless. The editor of *The Fatherland* then established a contact between Albert and a group of wealthy Americans willing to put up several million dollars for *The Sun* provided a similar amount would be raised from German sources. These Americans proposed to retain control of the paper. They were unwilling to countenance any policy hostile to American interests, but they were ready to conduct the newspaper independently of any foreign influence. It would have been possible to arrange for silent partnership with this group. There would have been no such bungling as in the case of *The Evening Mail*. While the law requires that the ownership of a newspaper must be fully disclosed, there was nothing to prevent the German Government or an individual German from making a present of several million dollars to an American

sympathizer; nor was there anything to prevent the sympathizer from making his money talk—for Germany! There is no safeguard which the law can create which human ingenuity cannot circumvent.

Convinced that the plan was feasible, the Germans, through devious channels, flashed code messages to Berlin. Germany's representatives hesitated to take upon their own shoulders the responsibility for a million-dollar transaction. The Germans were under the compulsion to account for every cent they spent. This explains the meticulous care with which Captains von Papen and von Igel preserved the stubs of their check books, to the discomfiture of their friends. The British gave their propaganda chiefs *carte blanche* in financial matters. The Germans were tortured by nightmares in which they saw themselves working for the rest of their natural lives to reimburse the *Oberrechnungskammer* for some unauthorized expenditure!

The propaganda chiefs in New York waited patiently for a reply from Berlin authorizing the purchase of *The Sun*. Day after day, week after week, passed without answer. Finally, bestirring itself after three months, Berlin said: "Yes." Too late! Conditions in the United States had changed. It was no longer possible to proceed with the plan. Somebody slept, somebody blundered!

The Germans lost the opportunity to acquire other metropolitan dailies. They also failed to secure important papers in Washington and in Chicago. Three or four powerful newspapers friendly to Germany would have stiffened the resistance of the bitter-enders opposed to the War. It is not impossible that a few million dollars thus invested would have saved the German Empire billions in reparations and changed the course of history.

Some newspaper correspondents going to the German Front received gratuities amounting to one thousand

dollars and more. Others induced the German Government to pay their expenses. Their names appear in official records. It is not unusual for a government to buy good will in this fashion. The British Government repeatedly invited distinguished Americans to visit England or the Front as its guests. The majority of newspaper men, no doubt, resisted such blandishments. Still others accepted them without selling their souls for a steamship ticket. Nevertheless, it is never safe to trust propagandists or governments bearing gifts.

In those days most pro-Germans were convinced that Lord Northcliffe owned or controlled eighteen American newspapers. This story was based upon the alleged remark of Lord Northcliffe, then Sir Alfred Harmsworth, to J. P. O'Mahoney, editor of the *Indiana Catholic and Record*: "The syndicate of which I am head owns or controls eighteen very successful American papers in your leading cities. We find the American service they send is very satisfactory, and we, of course, furnish them with our great European service. As you see, I am not here on pleasure only, but on business."

O'Mahoney's story appeared first in the *Indianapolis Star*, early in 1916. It reappears again and again in all anti-British propaganda. I notice that it is reprinted in full in 1683 to 1920, a German-American encyclopædia, edited by the German-American historian, Frederick Franklin Schrader. We have no proof of this story except O'Mahoney's assertion.

IX

DRAMATIZING THE ENGLISH BLOCKADE

The Allies furnished the pro-German propagandists daily with new fuel to inflame public opinion. According to international law, food intended exclusively for the use of the civil population was not contraband. The

British, however, seized such shipments, even if they were consigned to neutral countries contiguous to Germany. The State Department protested unavailingly. In order to dramatize this issue Dr. Albert induced an American shipping concern to dispatch the *Wilhelmina* to Hamburg with food for the civilian population only. A secret agreement safeguarded the American firm from loss. The English calmly seized the ship and then declared a blockade. With the declaration of the blockade the seizure became academic. Nevertheless, Albert had succeeded in raising an issue which aroused acrimonious discussion.

A similar issue was involved in the case of the *Dacia*, a ship formerly owned by the Germans, which, after being transferred to American registry and laden with cotton, cleared for Germany. Great Britain was determined not to permit this cargo to reach her foes. The seizure of the boat by the British would have led to a serious crisis. Walter Hines Page, then American Ambassador in London, advised the British Foreign Office to permit the ship to be seized by a French warship. This ruse thwarted the plans for a mighty protest against British interference with American rights.

The attitude of Page justified the complaint of the pro-Germans against the neutrality of the Administration. They pointed to the interference with the German wireless and to the shipment of submarines in sections from American yards. The disregard of American passports, especially in the case of naturalized citizens, and the seizure of American mails in contravention of all international agreements incensed American opinion. This indignation was exploited by the pro-Germans. Their grievances were placed on record by Senator Stone in a formal memorandum submitted by him to the Secretary of State. In the position of chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations the senator from

Missouri was scarcely less important than the Secretary of State himself.

The great adventure of our own participation in the War has obliterated in our minds some of these facts which are necessary to understand the psychology of the situation before April, 1917. Pro-Allies closed both eyes to these infringements of American rights. Pro-Germans could see nothing else. Each, dominated by his emotions, became the play-ball of propagandists and politicians. Both Republican and Democratic leaders flirted now with the pro-Germans, now with the pre-Allies. Thus the War became an issue in American politics.

Perhaps the most serious handicap from which Germany suffered was the fact that most American intellectuals, having drawn their cultural sustenance most heavily from British and Latin sources, were predisposed in favour of the Allies. There were exceptions. Professor John W. Burgess, Professor William R. Shepherd and Professor William P. Trent, of Columbia, William Ellery Leonard of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Herbert C. Sanborn of Vanderbilt University, and others. Another distinguished American who upheld the justice of the German position was Major Bigelow, brother of the Kaiser's friend, Poultney. Poultney, to atone for his youthful friendship, damned the Kaiser and all his works. Twelve years after the War Poultney confessed himself in error and made a pilgrimage to Doorn.

In order to reach the intelligentia, especially those Americans who had studied at German universities, the Germans supported a new organization known as the University League. The aim of the University League was to be a nucleus of *Kultur*. Count Bernstorff, in a report to the German Government, states that he made use of the League. It also appears that the League received at various times substantial contributions

from Bernstorff's account. But so cleverly was the thing handled that the men at its head had no inkling of the source of the funds. In fact, the treasury of the League was always empty. Nevertheless, it managed to engage in activities involving more money than its founders dreamed of.

The University League supplied a large number of teachers and professors in public life with propaganda literature. It approached distinguished jurists and historians for opinions favourable to the German cause. Learning is no protection against propaganda. The most learned men are caught like flies by the fly-paper of propaganda. Many of the propaganda activities of the University League were engendered not by the organization itself but by individual members constituting themselves committees of one, who used the League as a smoke screen.

The term "German propagandist" had already, in Bernstorff's own words, become a term of abuse in America when the Citizens' Committee for Food Shipments was formed by Dr. Edmund von Mach with the ostensible purpose of supplying the children of Germany with milk. The methods of the British Navy had forced the Postmaster General to suspend the United States parcel post to Germany and to Austria-Hungary. The milk committee envisaged the plan of sending the milk by first-class mail. Further interference with the mails, contrary to international agreements, would have furnished a lively subject for controversy between the United States and Great Britain. The milk was to be sent to specific individuals or to the clergy in individual towns.

At one time the committee discussed the fantastic plan of building a submarine to run the milk through the blockaded area. Dr. von Mach succeeded in enlisting the interest of President Wilson, who promised to devise means by which the milk for the children should

pass the British blockade. Whereas the University League addressed itself to the brain, the Citizens' Committee for Food Shipments appealed to the heart of America.

Voluntary contributions came in substantial amounts. The expenses of the committee itself, including the modest salary of Dr. von Mach, were paid by sympathizers. Dr. von Mach was a fiery propagandist. His eyes, like his red beard, flashed fire. But his voice was gentle. He had acquired the Harvard manner. Originally intended for a military career, he had left Germany to escape the irksome discipline of the army. He taught art at Harvard, and was the author of numerous books on æsthetic and on historical subjects. The War aroused his ancestral blood. Viereck and von Mach were inseparable. There were the Siamese twins of German propaganda. Von Mach became one of Germany's most active intellectual propagandists. His German antecedents were his principal handicap. However, the milk committee could have chosen no more eloquent advocate.

Here was an issue likely to be of immense value to the Germans. But the jinx which thwarted so many of their efforts compelled them to give up their campaign, for, though the image of German babies starving for lack of milk evoked the pity of neutrals, it did not increase their confidence in Germany's victory. In fact, the repercussions aroused by Dr. von Mach reached Germany and threatened the morale of the civilian population. It was good propaganda in America for the specific purpose of stirring up our emotions. It was bad propaganda from the point of view of Germany's larger objectives. Hence the order came from Berlin to abandon the agitation.

The money collected was forwarded to Empress Augusta Victoria to provide starving German children with milk. From a practical point of view it was far more sensible to buy milk for the Germans with American

money from neutrals contiguous to Germany. From the propaganda point of view, it was preferable to make the shipment with beating of drums from America in defiance of the British blockade.



ACCELERATED PACIFISM

In the milk campaign German leadership had been too obvious. German propagandists realized more and more the necessity of operating under aliases. They joyfully seized upon the American Truth Society, founded by Jeremiah O'Leary two years before the War. Yet O'Leary was not a pro-German. He had been engaged in a struggle against British propaganda since 1905. He was honestly convinced that Lord Northcliffe controlled the American press and that powerful and sinister influences, emanating from Andrew Carnegie and Cecil Rhodes, were at work to make America once more an integral part of the British Empire.

Wherever German-Americans hesitated the American Truth Society, with O'Leary, leaped into the breach. There was no demonstration against Allied loans, no meeting in favour of an embargo on arms, no protest against any pro-British measure advocated in Congress or elsewhere, without O'Leary. Fearless, a brilliant orator, handsome and dashing, O'Leary was a thorn in the flesh of the Administration. Wittingly or unwittingly, O'Leary and his group constituted the shock troops of German propaganda. This statement in no way impeaches the patriotism or the integrity of Jeremiah O'Leary.

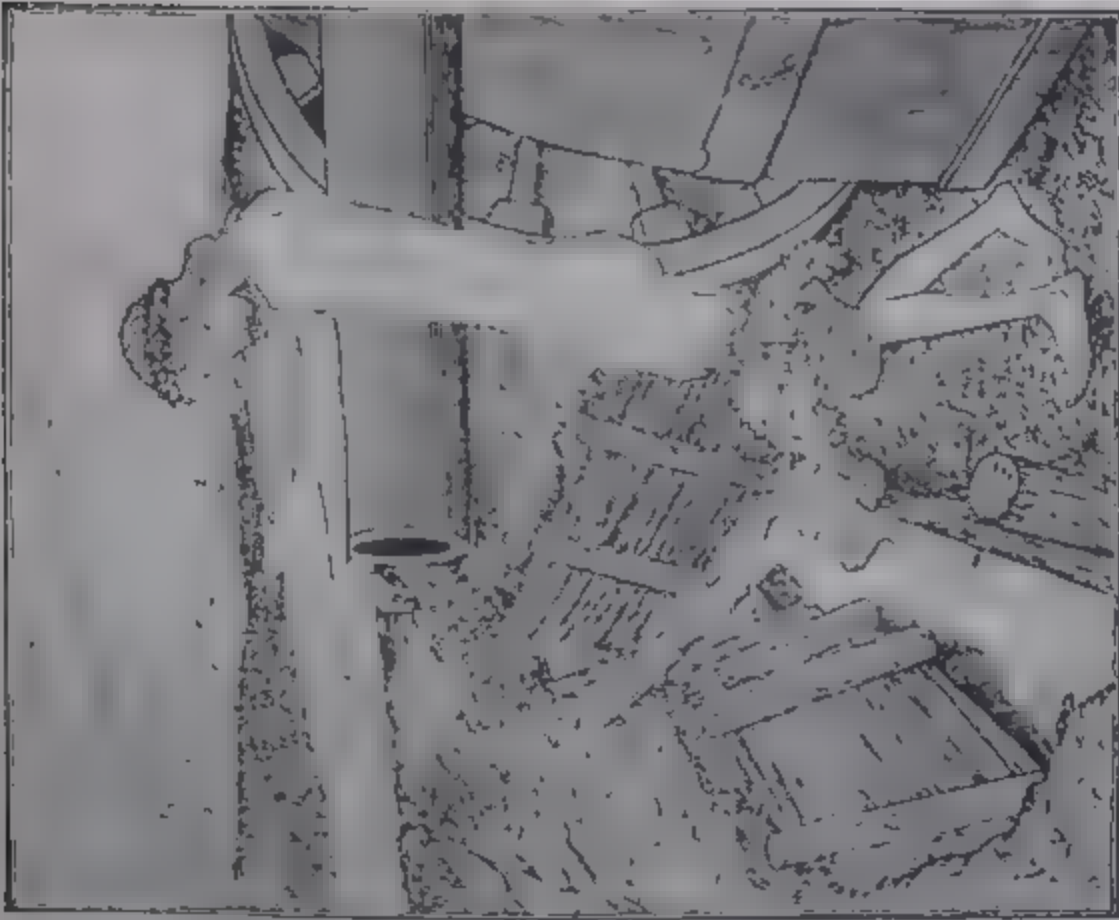
"In the beginning of the War," Bernstorff observes in a report to his government which fell into the hands of the Department of Justice, "many things were undertaken by the Dernburg propaganda which would

never have been undertaken if we could have seen that the War would be so long, because"—he pathetically adds, reiterating his complaint to me—"nothing for long can be kept secret in America. Since the Lusitania case," the Ambassador continues, "we have strictly confined ourselves to such propaganda as cannot hurt us if it becomes known." This no doubt refers to the activities of the University League and the milk committee. "The sole exception," Bernstorff goes on to say, "is perhaps the Peace Propaganda, which has cost the largest amount, but which also has been the most successful. Latterly, I have been using the Embargo Conference and some entirely reliable private intermediaries." I am indebted for this quotation to Bielaski, Exhibit No. 82 of the Investigation of Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda.

German propaganda assumed many forms. One of these, appealing primarily to the wage earners, was disguised as Labour's National Peace Council. A leading light of this peace council was Congressman Buchanan of Illinois. Behind it looms the crooked shadow of the "Wolf of Wall Street"—Lamar. Failing in their efforts to win the Federation of Labour, the Germans, playing with pro-Germans and with pacifists, financed wholly or in part a "congress" which adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOUR IN PEACE CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That an organization be established having for its purpose the establishment and maintenance of peace universal; that the officers of Labour's National Peace Council consist of a president, etc., such officers to act in conducting the further business of Labour's National Peace Council.

RESOLVED, That Labour's National Peace Council recommends to the President of the United States that the policy of President Washington prohibiting the shipment and sale of munitions be followed by a proclamation prohibiting the sale and shipment to belligerent nations of munitions as well as of all materials used in the production of same.



"SIMILICISSIM"

SPRING, 1915

'Nabody wants my flowers. They all ask for bullets.'

Page 95



"BLACK REAPERS"

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM, U. S. A.

The Three Wise Men from the East, bringing precious gifts of ammunitions, airplanes, bombs etc.

Subsequently, the Embargo Conference which wrote this issue upon its banners, was organized in Chicago in 1915. In time it underwent many metamorphoses and changes of name. It had various aliases and offsprings. It is hardly necessary to trace these individual organizations. The purpose behind them was the same. They were financed from the same secret source, and they were effective because a large majority of the members, including in some cases the men ostensibly at the head, were either sincere partisans of Germany or sincere pacifists. Two active organizers of the Embargo Conference were an American newspaper man, William R. MacDonald, and C. H. Jacobson, a reputable Chicago real estate man. Jacobson was subsequently indicted on a charge of conspiring to violate the neutrality of the United States. They succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of distinguished members of Congress, including Senator Hitchcock, and a British-born pulpit orator, Dr. Charles Aked of San Francisco. Neither the Senator nor the clergyman smelled the sulphur of propaganda!

According to the archives of the Department of Justice, the Society spent \$57,000 in eleven months. The money ostensibly came in amounts varying from small contributions to \$1,000 or more from German-Americans in Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, and other cities. An international banking house in New York contributed \$5,000. Carl E. Schmidt of Detroit contributed out of his own pocket many thousands of dollars.

The Embargo Conference decided that mass meetings and resolutions far away from Washington were ineffective. Petitions reaching Washington in the routine way made hardly a ripple. They determined to circulate post cards pledging all signers to stand solidly in line behind the movement. They determined to use these pledges as a stick to beat recalcitrant Congressmen

into obedience. J. J. Tobias, of the Friends of Peace, a kindred organization, emphasized this threat by stating publicly that five million Teutonic voters were going to "raise hell" with any party not in favour of the programme of the Embargo Conference. A staff of German-American speakers, under the direction of Dr. Herman Gerhard, invaded Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Nebraska, to teach the doctrine of the Embargo. They made special efforts to enlist voters of other than German descent. In a letter addressed to William Bayard Hale, the organizers of the Conference pointed out that many persons with English, French, Irish, Swedish, and Danish names were among its supporters. The activities of the Conference covered the national capital and seventeen states.

The Embargo Conference told hundreds of thousands of voters in various centres that their representatives in Congress wished an expression of opinion from them. Attached was a form letter which the voter signed and which was then forwarded to his representative. When the situation required it, the Embargo Conference flooded Congress with form telegrams protesting against war with Germany. This method was adopted in April, 1916. About 250,000 such messages were sent, and seven forms were used for the purpose. When Senator Husting denounced this propaganda the flood receded as suddenly as it had risen. According to testimony before the United States Senate, the organization was responsible in all for nearly five million telegrams. The tolls paid amounted to nearly a quarter of a million dollars. One week before the rupture of relations, Bernstorff, in a secret message to Berlin, afterwards decoded by the American Government, asked for the authorization to spend \$50,000 or more through the Embargo group in order to "influence" Congress!

The Germans authorized the expenditure of \$200,000 through the American Association of Foreign Language

Newspapers, as part of a nation-wide campaign for an embargo on arms. Louis Hammerling, president of the Association, induced several hundred foreign language publishers to sign a flamboyant appeal to the American people, the American press, the American manufacturers of powder, shrapnel, and cartridges, and to the workmen engaged in the munition plants, "to alleviate human suffering and preserve life, not help destroy it." This appeal appeared in several hundred foreign language newspapers, including some published in the languages of the Allies.

The German language newspapers were omitted, a clumsy attempt to conceal the German origin of the movement. Of the total appropriation, \$38,138 was spent on broadcasting the appeal through the advertising columns of American newspapers.

Senator Hitchcock printed the advertisement free of charge in his newspaper. From a cross-examination conducted after our rupture of relations with Germany by the Overman Committee, it appears that only a fraction of the total amount reached the foreign language publishers. Some of these, being partisans of the land of their origin or genuine pacifists, published the advertisement without payment. Others accepted it with a lively expectation of favours to come. Still others subsequently repudiated their signatures. For several days the appeal made a continent talk. Its publication was a daring and brilliant stroke that would have been more effective if the propagandists had been able to draw in their horns more completely.

Side by side with the attempt to gain the support of pacifists went the attempt to foment strikes in munition plants. The discovery of this "propaganda of action" contributed to the recall of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Dr. Dumba. In a letter to Baron von Burian, Dr Dumba wrote: "Only a certain amount should be given at first, and a larger sum in the

case of success, or of a serious strike, or the formation of a union."

Captain von Papen, the German military attaché, entrusted the messenger who carried the Dumba letter with a note to his wife which contained the now immortal phrase "these idiotic Yankees." The British newspapers reprinted von Papen's letter with howls of delight. It did not add to the popularity of the German military attaché, who was shortly afterwards withdrawn at the request of the American Government.

One of the forms which the campaign among foreign-born munition workers assumed appears from a moving picture scenario financed by the Austro-Hungarian Government. This play showed Austro-Hungarian workmen making the shells which kill their relatives on the other side of the ocean. In one scene the munition factory burns down. The fire is attributed to a rival manufacturer. But the suggestion is obvious. However, no sentimental appeal could compete successfully with high wages.

The peace campaign of the propagandists was more effective than clumsy attempts to create strikes. The argument of the propagandist that the Allies were the main stumbling-block to peace won many adherents to their cause who were not pro-German. Bernstorff was right in boasting of the success of this campaign. It was one of the few efforts made by the Germans which alarmed Sir Edward Grey. They succeeded in convincing millions of Americans in no way connected with German propaganda that humanity clamoured for an embargo on arms.

The launching of a so-called Peace Ship bearing American passengers to Europe was an honest, if fantastic, attempt to protest against war by Henry Ford, who financed the enterprise. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent those who inspired the idea were agents of propaganda. In any case, pro-German

propagandists capitalized the incident and pro-Allied propaganda torpedoed it with their ridicule. All governments looked upon the expedition as preposterous.

XI

MCLEMORE V. THE GUARDIAN ANGELS

German propaganda, in spite of handicaps and misfortunes, in spite of blunders at home and abroad, in spite of the indiscretions of Boy-Ed and von Papen, and the loss of the Albert portfolio, kept American sentiment divided, even after the *Lusitania*, and played an important part in the presidential campaign of 1916. There was at least one moment when German propaganda almost succeeded in barring American passengers from all ships—armed for defence or otherwise—under the flag of the Allies.

The McLemore resolution would have withdrawn the protection of the American Government from American citizens travelling upon an armed vessel under the flag of any belligerent. This idea coincided with the convictions of a large number of Western statesmen. It was highly popular in the state of Texas from which McLemore hailed. McLemore's intention was to protect American citizens against themselves and to remove a possible cause of friction with Germany.

Every British passenger ship was armed for defence. Every ship carried war materials in one form or another. The Germans, as we have noted, called American passengers travelling on such ships as "Guardian Angels." Their presence undoubtedly diverted more than one German torpedo.

The resolution was suggested to McLemore by Shamas O'Sheel, a brilliant young Irish-American poet and politician, with extraordinary political sagacity and foresight. There was nothing improper in this.

Congressmen constantly receive suggestions for resolutions from friends and constituents. Occasionally one of their friends may be a propaganda wolf in sheep's clothing. The young Irishman who drafted the McLemore resolution, though acting on his own responsibility, was in close contact with both German and Irish propaganda chiefs.

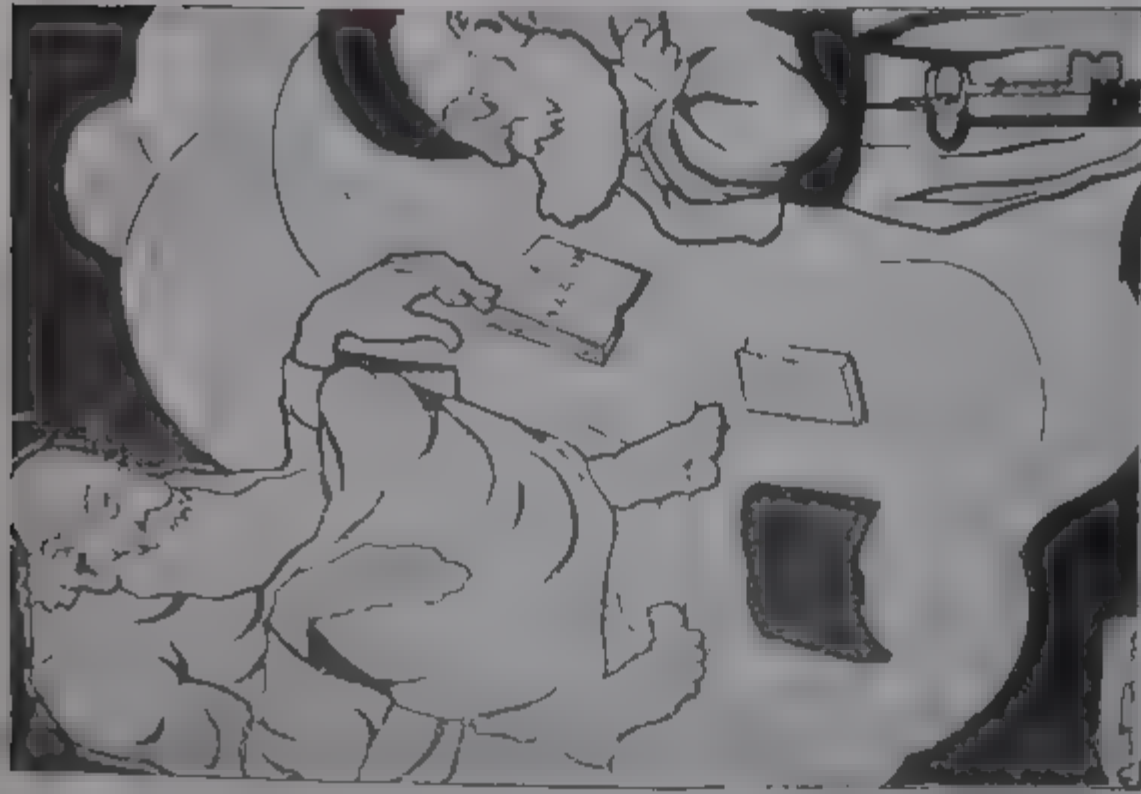
The moment the resolution had been introduced he rushed to New York gleefully to report the event to the editor of *The Fatherland* and to the editor of *The Gaelic American*. He was welcomed by both with open arms. A similar resolution was sponsored in the Senate by Mr. Gore. The *New York World* claimed that the Gore resolution was inspired by two "professional German-Americans."

The limelight of publicity beat most fiercely on the McLemore resolution. It received the support of many anti-war newspapers throughout the country. *The Fatherland*, *The Gaelic American*, and the *Irish World* supported both the McLemore resolution and the Gore bill with enthusiasm. German propaganda, aided by its Irish allies, set in motion the machinery required to bring pressure on Congress. The White House was up in the air. Orders were given to deny consideration to the McLemore resolution. However, the German-Irish propaganda machine functioned smoothly. Letters and telegrams demanding the passage of the resolution began to pour in like an avalanche.

Then the counter propaganda began. In the ensuing battle every pro-Ally was called to the colours. Soon the clamour of the pro-Allies exceeded the agitation from pro-German centres.

"For God's sake," one Congressman in favour of the resolution cried, "get your people to send in more letters and telegrams. We are getting licked."

A few days later the Administration, conscious of its superior strategy, ordered a vote. The resolution



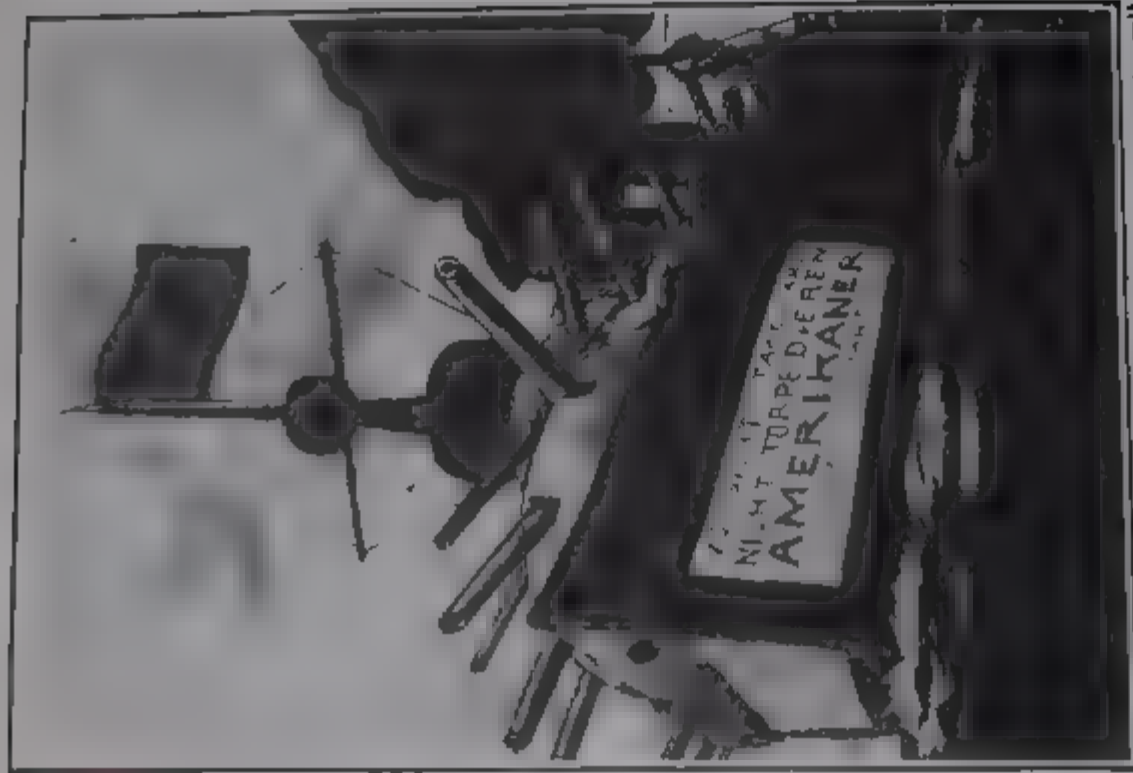
HUMOR
WITHOUT
HORROR

COIN IN "PASQUINO," THIM (1915)

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

Go! "I've read the green, yellow, and blue books, and know it is the latter who is in the wrong," St. Peter. "Suppose we settle it with the dice."

Lamp 114



A JOHNSON IN "KLEDERADATSCH"

GERMAN SUGGESTION FOR ENGLISH DREADNAUGHT

Challenger Type Designed for Millions of War and
Peacemakers
'Don't Talk!' Americans all Read"

was reported under a rule limiting the debate and permitting no amendments. Representative after Representative rose and spoke in favour of the principle of the resolution, but objected to the form or to the text, and therefore regretfully voted against it. The debate in both houses consumed 4,500,000 words. On the final vote in the House to table the resolution, the yeas were 276, the nays 142.

The McLemore and the Gore resolutions were only two of a swarm of similar bills which, though introduced for purely legitimate reasons, nevertheless became play-balls of propaganda. The pro-Allies were no less dexterous in making use of the machinery of Congress than the pro-Germans. Sentiment was so evenly divided that most of these efforts died by the wayside. However, every resolution of this type led to heated discussions in the newspapers and on Capitol Hill. The agitation thus aroused was accelerated by deft manipulation. Each side attempted to hide its own selfish end behind some legitimate American purpose. It has been said that patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel. It was the first resort of the propagandist. Every propagandist draped himself in the flag.

The pro-Allies used every possible influence to prevent the Administration from making its protests against the "illegal, ineffective and indefensible" British blockade more energetic. Their spokesman said England merely interfered with our commerce while Germany menaced our lives. Matters of dollars and cents, they claimed, could be adjudicated, but no indemnity can bring back the dead. This argument appealed to the common sense of the American people, and to the friends of England in many ranks.

Less than two months after the defeat of his battle over armed merchantmen, Congressman McLemore introduced a joint resolution opposing the withdrawal of United States troops from Mexico. The proposed

measure authorized reinforcements and voluntary enlistment. It too was born in the brain of Shaemas O'Sheel. Fearing our entrance into the World War, McLemore and O'Sheel looked upon a commitment in Mexico as the lesser evil.

In justice to McLemore and to his Irish friend, it must be remembered that Mexican bands, led by Pancho Villa, had plundered and killed a number of people in New Mexico. President Wilson had sent a punitive force of American troops under General Pershing across the border to capture the elusive Villa. Carranza protested against the invasion and it was assumed that the President would recall our troops.

There was a resolution introduced by a Representative from Texas, motivated ostensibly by a concern for our rights as against Mexico and Mexican bandits, but actually written by a pro-German Irish-American from New York for the purpose of heading this country off from participation in the Great War on the Allied side. Although the resolution was eventually defeated, the long-drawn-out battle which it occasioned in both houses of our national legislature illustrates how foreign propaganda may throw a monkey wrench into the wheels of American legislation.

XII

DÉBÂCLE

Public opinion is an expensive commodity. Behind the front, silver bullets are just as important as cartridges in the firing line. Count Bernstorff handed over several million dollars to Bolo Pasha to finance a defeatist campaign in the Paris press, after duly obtaining the consent of his government. The messages passing between Bernstorff and Berlin were the noose that caught Bolo.

It is amusing to note that, in one instance at least, Count Bernstorff, for all his shrewdness, unknowingly paid for French propaganda. Jules Bois, a perfectly innocent Frenchman, delivering pro-French lectures in America, received five thousand dollars from Bolo to defray the expense of his lecturing tour on behalf of the French. The amount in question was part of the huge sum given by Bernstorff to Bolo Pasha. Perhaps Bolo Pasha regarded this contribution as conscience money. At any rate, it does not, according to a former attorney general of the State of New York, who testified on German propaganda before the United States Senate, cast any reflection whatever on M. Bois.

Count Bernstorff, I may add parenthetically here, maintained friendly relations with President Wilson until the end. Bernstorff enacted a dual rôle. He attempted to be both the Ambassador of the German Empire and the Unofficial Spokesman of German Liberalism in Washington. The Ambassador relayed the Zimmermann note proposing an alliance between Mexico and Japan against the United States to Mexico City and concealed his knowledge of the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare from Mr. Wilson. The Unofficial Spokesman agreed with President Wilson's condemnation of unrestricted submarine warfare. Bernstorff's left hand ignored what his right hand was doing. He could not keep faith with his friend without betraying his country.

It is possible that Bernstorff could have kept America out of the War in spite of the pressure of the pro-Allies and in spite of resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, if he had succeeded in retaining the confidence of President Wilson.

Bernstorff did not know that the United States Government kept a record of every telephone conversation between the German Embassy and the outside world. The conversations between Embassy officials

and their friends in New York were spiced with uncomplimentary references to high personages in the White House and in the State Department.

The late William J. Flynn, former chief of the secret service, who revealed this piquant information, does not assert that Bernstorff himself was guilty of such indiscretions. But the Ambassador was unable to check the exuberance of his attachés. The Secretary of State, it seems, did not escape criticism. There was, now and then, a *bon mot* at the expense of the Mistress of the White House.

The transcripts of these conversations were submitted to the President and to the Secretary of State.

Of what avail were Bernstorff's earnestness and his good faith if reports of this type poisoned the mind of the President and of the Secretary of State? However high-minded an official may be, however charged with a sense of responsibility, no man is insusceptible to such thrusts. Of fibre such as this is made the straw that breaks the camel's back. No matter how many mines Bernstorff may have planted, intellectually speaking, here was the countermine that blasted his efforts.

When I taxed Count Bernstorff with the inconceivable blunder of which his assistants had been guilty, he said: "How can you prove that our conversations were not distorted and perverted?"

I could not.

"We knew," Bernstorff added with the superior smile of Old World diplomacy, "that our wires were tapped, and we acted accordingly. We frequently amused ourselves at the expense of the spies who were listening in." But surely the last laugh in this case was not with the Germans!

In order to keep American ammunition at home, the Germans attempted to divert our activities into other channels. Their propagandists skilfully exploited the

execution of Roger Casement and the Irish Revolution in the hope of embroiling the United States in some way with Great Britain. They undoubtedly succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of some of the powerful Irish-American organizations.

In the spring of 1915, an American newspaper correspondent who had been rewarded with divers favours by the German Government for sending lurid tales of Russian atrocities to the United States, arrived in New York with recommendations from Bethmann-Hollweg. This newspaper man, Mr. F., worked out an elaborate plan for diverting American attention from Europe to the Orient. The plan included the bribing of an editor in charge of a large syndicate and the publication of anti-Japanese articles and fiction. F. suggested the use of musical comedies and the vaudeville stage to introduce songs and stage effects, fomenting anti-Japanese feeling. There should be, he urged, an anti-Japanese film production on all circuits.

F.'s trump card was the incitement of trouble on the Pacific Coast. "The thugs who engineered the escape of a young millionaire from Matteawan," he explained, "will do anything for a thousand dollars apiece." Rioting in San Francisco, he says, would be "child's play" for them. Then the anti-Asiatic Exclusion League, and a well-known detective agency would enter the plan. Once trouble was fomented, the clergy could be aroused. They would rush to denounce the Japanese, especially if some outrage against a woman were planted. He calmly suggested the importation of prostitutes for this purpose. (Bielaski Exhibit 41.)

Subsequently, F., whose name at least is entirely Anglo-Saxon, submitted a confession to the United States Senate. In this confession he brands his plan as an absurdity and a fraud. "I assisted," he says, "to the extent of copying and revising what another gave me, well knowing its absurdity and its purpose, which

was not to launch an intrigue against the Japanese, but which was rather to enable a third person to swindle Captain von Papen out of a sum of money and then, laughing at him, doing not one thing in the scheme proposed."

By a peculiar coincidence, at least one suggestion of the amiable Mr. F. blossomed into reality, although there is no reason for believing that it owes its inception to him. Certain American advocates of preparedness evolved a serial photoplay called *Patria* in 1916 at a cost of \$90,000. The film contained both anti-Japanese and anti-Mexican features and vividly depicted the effort of Japan and Mexico to conquer America. The chief villain is a Japanese nobleman. Japanese troops invade California and visit horrible atrocities upon the inhabitants. The picture was first shown in New York on the night of January 19, 1917. Its ostensible sponsor was an American novelist of national reputation. However, according to Captain Lester, the novelist merely permitted the use of his name to advertise the film. He was not its author. *Patria* was stopped at the request of President Wilson.

Canada too seemed to offer alluring prospects. European states build up their empires by robbing their neighbours. It seemed natural to diplomats of the old school to attribute the same disposition to the United States. In the very beginning of the War, some *Herr Geheimrat* conceived the fantastic idea that England's extremity was America's opportunity to annex Canada. He inspired an article suggesting a German-American and Irish-American expedition with the connivance of the American Government. The article was never printed, but a copy of it fell into the hands of the British censor, who used it effectively to intensify ill feeling against the Germans.

Berlin encouraged Mexico in its intransigent attitude toward the American Government, while German agents

here discussed ways and means of inflaming public opinion in the United States against Mexico and Japan. Joining hands with our own jingoes, they held out to us as a bait the mastery of the Pacific. Serious trouble with Mexico or the menace of a war with Japan would have effectively stopped all shipments of arms from the United States.

The German intrigue in regard to Mexico and Japan reached its climax with the publication of the famous Zimmermann note, urging Mexico to reconquer her "lost provinces," New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona, and to enter into an alliance with Japan against the United States. This note was sent to Mexico through three or four different channels. Every one of the channels was watched by the British, who decoded the message and transmitted the German note to the State Department.

The German Foreign Office violated the confidence of the American Government by adding this note as an appendix to a code message forwarded to Count Bernstorff through the courtesy of the American Embassy in Berlin. Although it provided merely for certain eventualities in case of war, the Zimmermann note astounded the American people. Its publication rendered the rupture of relations with the United States inevitable.

The German Propaganda Cabinet was scattered. Bernstorff, who was still pinning his faith on Wilson to keep us out of the War, was on the high seas. William Bayard Hale had severed his connection with the German Government and had accepted a position as the European chief of staff of an important American newspaper organization. When Dr. Hale saw this story reprinted in the Berlin press he straightway went to the Wilhelmstrasse and called upon the Secretary of State. He did not ask Dr. Zimmermann if the story were true.

With true diplomatic finesse, he said: "Of course, Your Excellency will deny this story."

"How can I?" said Zimmermann, wringing his hands. "It is true."

I learned afterwards that the scheme of the Mexican-Japanese alliance had originated in the brain of some minor official of the German Foreign Office. It was not original with Zimmermann, although, having signed it, he assumed the responsibility for it. If he had denied it, thousands of pro-Germans in the United States and elsewhere would have believed him.

Zimmermann's admission ended pro-Germanism in the United States. "We cannot," said Vierck, "remain the friends of a country that is plotting to destroy our own." The Zimmermann note marks the final débâcle of German propaganda in the United States.

XIII

TRIAL BALANCE

On two occasions propaganda grappled with frightfulness, and won! The Propaganda Cabinet interceded to save the life of a near relative of President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia. This relative had been condemned to death by the Austrians. The cabinet pointed out to the Austrian War Office that Masaryk had many friends in the United States, including President Wilson, who would resent summary action.

In another case the Propaganda Cabinet saved the life of a British sailor. The Germans, it will be remembered, had condemned to death Captain Fryatt, master of a British trading steamer, for armed resistance against a German submarine. The sentence had aroused world-wide indignation. Shortly after this, another British captain, Captain James Blaikie, R.N.R., of the s.s. Caledonia, was captured under similar circumstances.

The German naval authorities clamoured for his execution. Great Britain vainly exerted every possible pressure to save his life.

Finally, through a Scotch friend of the captain, the matter was brought to the attention of the editor of *The Fatherland*. Recognizing the adverse effect upon public opinion of further executions, Bernstorff, spurred by the Propaganda Cabinet, succeeded in prevailing upon the naval authorities to treat Captain Blunkie like an ordinary prisoner of war. This was an important concession involving a principle in naval warfare which Tirpitz considered to be of paramount importance: the right to mete out to any merchantman attempting resistance against a warship the punishment which military authorities visit upon the sailor.

Germany was handicapped by her desire to be at all times vocal. The Germans had a passion for putting themselves on record. They made too many statements and wrote too many letters. Tirpitz nearly spoiled the entire submarine game by a premature announcement of his intentions. Arthur Graml Hays, who acted in a legal capacity for the German Government, tells a characteristic story illustrating this attitude. In January, 1917, Mr. Hays attended a luncheon with Count Bernstorff at the Wilhelms-Hof Balling, at which Dr. Albert Heynen and other embassy officials were present. The question arose as to what attitude the German Government should take and what note should be written to announce Germany's intended resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare. Various suggestions were made as to what would be advisable. Hays insisted that it was about time the German Government followed the example of the British and refrained from writing. He pointed out that any note challenging American national rights would embarrass the president. Mr. Wilson, the attorney said, did not want war. He had been able to maintain his neutral position because

both groups of belligerents contented themselves with making excuses for their actions or denying the facts, without assailing the fundamental justice of the American position. The Germans replied that for the Government to start a submarine campaign without first giving notice would not be "honest." "Perhaps," Hays remarks, "they were right. But it always seemed to me that it was stupid."

German officialdom, lacking journalistic sense, was rarely alive to the possibilities of stirring public opinion in Allied countries. An American investigator of propaganda technique points out how the Germans mishandled the Cavell case. Shortly after the execution of Miss Cavell, the French executed two German nurses under substantially the same circumstances, without evoking a murmur in the German press. An American newspaper man, calling on the officer in charge of the propaganda of the German General Staff, asked, "Why don't you do something to counteract the British propaganda in America?"

"Why, what do you mean?" the official asked.

"Raise the devil about those nurses the French shot the other day."

"What? Protest? The French had a perfect right to shoot them."

Ruthlessness may be justified by the laws of war. It is not good publicity! The Germans lost the war because they were unable to gauge public opinion. They were always logical, but never psychological.

All propaganda emanating from Berlin suffered from the absence of a highly developed press section under the auspices of the Foreign Office. The Reichstag failed to vote sufficient funds for the purpose because the press was looked upon as a partisan instrument. The so-called Reptile Fund of the Foreign Office—a name invented by Bismarck to designate the amount at his disposal to "persuade" the newspapers—was

insignificant. The Germans paid for their failure to cultivate propaganda sense.

Bruce Bielaski, the war-time chief of the Intelligence Division of the Department of Justice, informed the United States Senate that the Germans spent approximately \$1,800,000 in the United States to break the morale of France. Bielaski ought to know. Both Albert's and Viercek's offices were under constant surveillance long before America entered the War. From the vantage point of an adjoining office, rented for this purpose, Secret Service men watched every visitor entering the premises. At night they invaded the headquarters of the pro-Germans with skeleton keys and photographed every document on which they laid their hands. Telephone wires were tapped, employees bribed, stool pigeons hired and letters abstracted.

Probably the United States Department of Justice knows more details concerning Dr. Albert's expenses than Dr. Albert himself. Albert was unable to take his books with him and all his records were impounded by the Government. The total receipts of Dr. Albert's office were \$27,850,000.

"German propaganda," writes Ludendorff in his memoirs, "was only kept going with difficulty. In spite of all our efforts, its achievements, in comparison with the magnitude of the task, were inadequate. We produced no real effect on the enemy peoples." Count Bernstorff, now Germany's spokesman in Geneva, admits that the German press service never succeeded in adapting itself to American requirements.

"What," I asked Daniel F. Cohalan, the most expert of the Irish strategists in the battle for public opinion, "is your estimate of German propaganda in the United States?"

A grim smile curled around Cohalan's lips, while his steel blue eyes, changing now and then from steel blue to grey and from grey to green, flashed fire.

"Germany," he said, "suffers from that sense of inferiority which England skilfully inculcates in her foes. In view of the handicaps in their path, the German propagandists performed miracles. The German propagandists found staring them in the face the same odds which the Kaiser's army encountered on the field of battle. The odds against them were twenty to one.

"Germany as a propagandist lacked the resources and the experience of England. For centuries Britain has maintained, subsidized or fomented pro-British parties in every country. I refer especially to Italy, France, Spain, Norway, Portugal, Belgium, Germany and the United States.

"In Germany England insidiously uses the Liberals and Intellectuals to play her game. In America England's retiring garrisons left behind them an army of Tory civilians who never for an instant surrendered the idea of regarding America politically and metaphysically as a dominion of the British crown. This army of occupation has been in the United States so long that most of us do not realize that they are still at heart Englishmen. The same element dominated the Wilson Administration and the councils of Big Business. If you consider all these factors the results achieved by German propaganda are little short of amazing."

The English, too, according to my conversations with various propaganda chieftains, considered German propaganda a formidable opponent. Sir William Wiseman, Lord Northcliffe, Norman G. Thwaites actually urged their own countrymen to emulate the efficiency of the Germans. Perhaps their tribute to German propaganda was not entirely disingenuous. Official America joined the British chorus.

Germany herself underestimated her own propaganda both in the turgescence of victory and in the detumescence of defeat, owing to that peculiar inferiority

complex which Judge Cohalan emphasizes and which has been for generations the despair of German patriots. The braggadocio and bluster which the German at times displays is recognized by the veriest tyro as the overcompensation of an inferiority complex. The Germans were amateurs compared with the British. Nevertheless, German propaganda in the United States cannot be pronounced a failure if its object was to keep America out of the war from August, 1914, to April, 1917.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH PAPER BULLETS

I

TALES OUT OF SCHOOL

THE Master Propagandist leaned back in his chair expectantly.

"Do you mind if I tell the story of British propaganda in the United States?"

"No," he drawled. "War propaganda covered the entire world like the gossamer spun by industrious insects which at times almost chokes plant life and vegetation.

"Every country had its trained battalions of spiders, silkworms, and caterpillars, creating impenetrable propaganda nets.

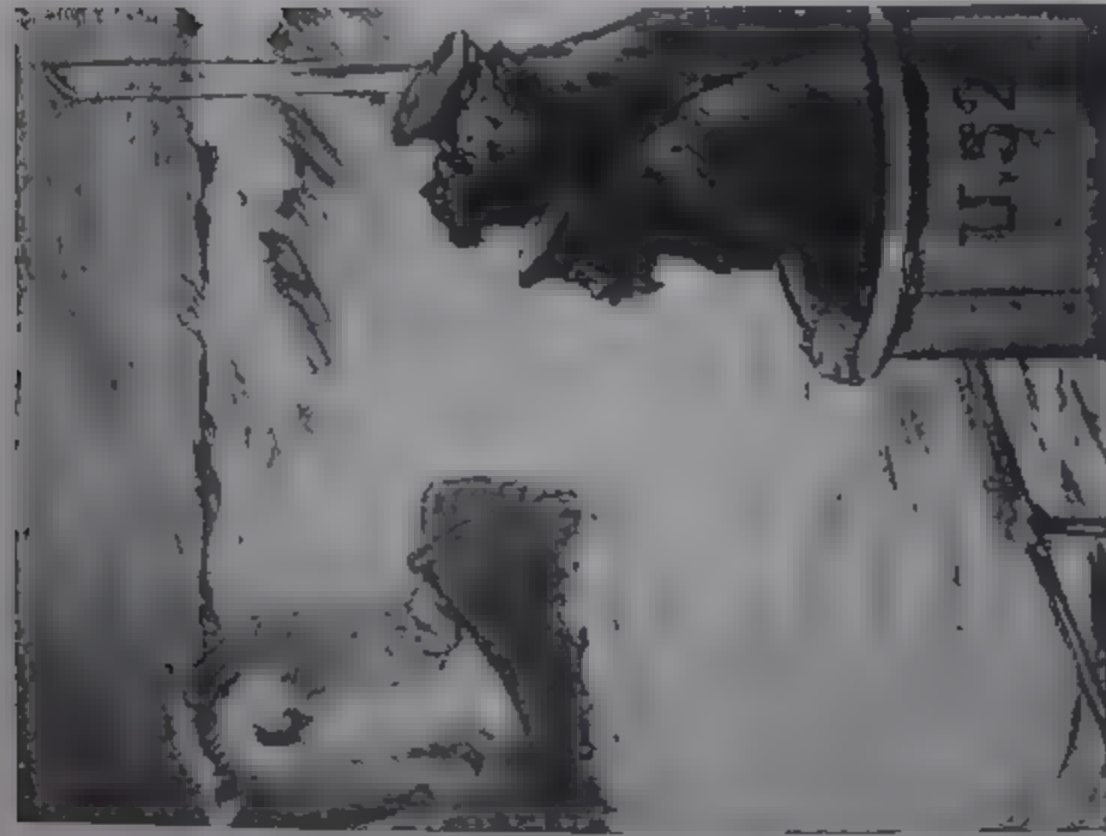
"Most of their handiwork has been scattered to the four winds. Some threads of the propaganda gossamer remain entangled in men's brains. It may be well to sweep these cobwebs away."

It was a long speech for the Master of Propaganda. He lit a cigarette and, sinking back into his chair, looked quizzically with quiet amusement.

"Won't it make your task more difficult in the next war if I tell tales out of school?"

Half supercilious, half sad, a weary smile crept up from the corners of his mouth to the wrinkles about his eyes. The rest was silence.

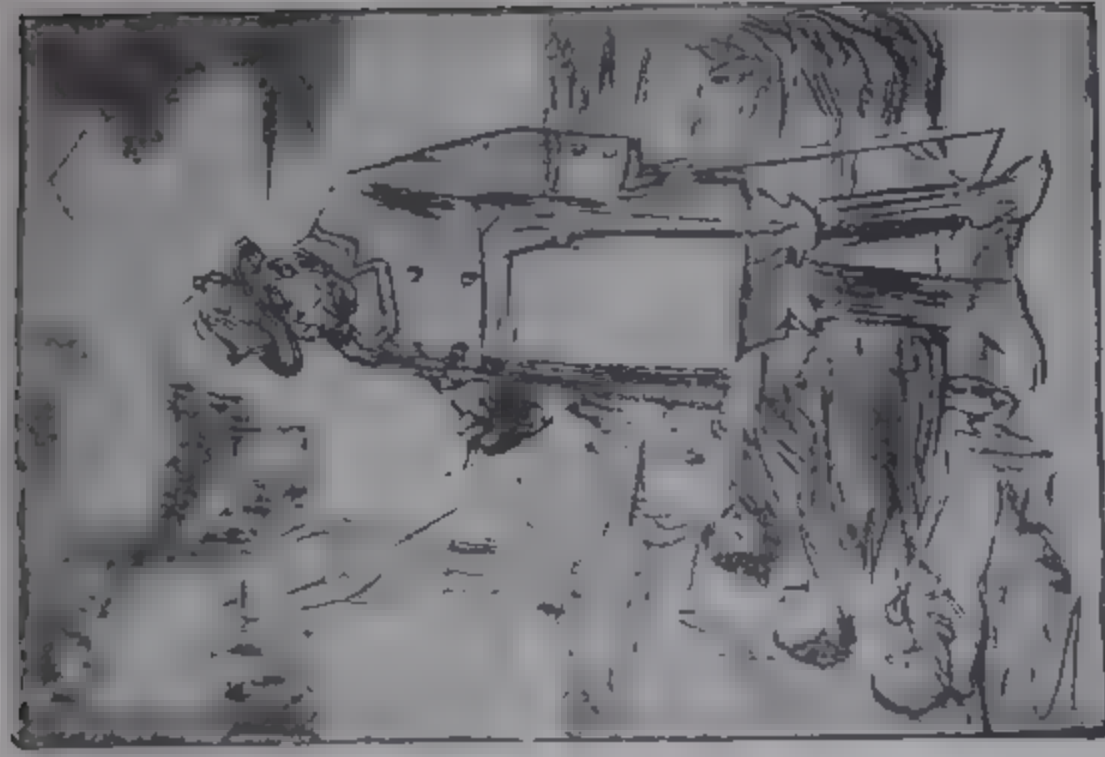
"My story," I said, interrupting his meditation, "will be a monument to your ingenuity."



FROM "RAINFALLER'S CARTOON HISTORY OF THE WAR"

"SEEMS TO BE NEUTRAL: SINK HIM"

RAINFALLER'S
CANNING
APPEALS TO
WAR PSYCHOLOGISTS
WIFE WORTH
AN ARMY
CORPS TO THE
ALLIES



THE CENTURY CO., 1917 18 19

THE KAISER COUNTS THE RAO

"Don't," he said, "overestimate our resourcefulness. We made incredible blunders.

"But we English had one inestimable advantage in the battle of propaganda over all our adversaries, except the Irish. We spoke your language. Our men merged with the crowd. They 'passed' as Americans. In every newspaper office, in every great industrial concern there were Englishmen whose national origin no one suspected or questioned."

"What of the Irish?"

"They are the victims of their temperament."

"The Germans?"

"They are less lucky than we, but if they speak English they also pass. Their names may betray their origin, but they are easily mistaken for Americans of German descent. The French are more unfortunate. They can never disguise their accent or their origin."

"But they can hire Americans."

"Their choice in that respect is limited. We can use Americans of all classes and all degrees.

"The War showed that it was not necessary for us to employ or to bribe Americans. They did our work for nothing. Some embarrassed us by the extremes to which they went."

"I presume you need men especially trained for the work?"

"No. Some men have a flair for publicity. Press agents are born, not made."

"But publicity is not propaganda?"

"The methods are identical. I see no difference between propaganda and publicity, whether Mr. X advertises chewing gum or the British Government advertises certain policies in which it wants to interest the American people. Propaganda is an attempt to persuade.

"Propaganda may be right or it may be wrong. But the chewing gum, too, may be good or bad."

"In other words, the man with the largest pocket-book wins."

"That depends upon the adroitness of his appeal and upon the good will he succeeds in creating. In the beginning of the World War, propaganda was a battle between the wireless and the cable. The Germans flashed every day 1,000 to 1,800 words of propaganda disguised as news. But they mixed too much propaganda bitter with the sweet of the news. We knew better. Long experience has taught us the proper ingredients."

"Did all the governments use the great news-distributing agencies?"

"Of course. We used Reuter's. France employed the Havas Agency. The Germans relied on Wolff's Telegraph Bureau."

"America?"

"The United States," the Master of Propaganda replied, shrugging his shoulders, "controlled no news association."

It is the fashion in certain American quarters to deny the existence of British propaganda in the United States. This denial is withered by the evidence. The conservative *Encyclopædia Britannica* treats British propaganda as an historical fact. Every government, it admits, had a regular wireless service.

The *New Statesman* of London deprecates the wisdom of "the elaborate pretence of doing nothing officially when evidences of an extensive activity are evident everywhere. Americans," the British periodical insists, "suspect the British control of American newspapers. Much of the writing and speaking on behalf of England has been of a kind which should be condemned by any one possessing a fair knowledge of the American mind and temperament."

All through the War, sums of money were spent by the belligerents on cables and on subsidizing neutral

newspapers. News agencies were started in camouflaged form. In some cases new journals and illustrated periodicals were published. Every embassy and legation, this British authority goes on to say, was a propaganda centre in some form or other. Agents of every sort, including neutrals and, in some cases, enemy subjects, were entrusted with the work of organized propaganda, conducted primarily in the United States.

A month or two after my talk with the Master Propagandist I had dinner in London with one of the high officials of the British Foreign Office. A man of the world, affable and suave, he found it difficult to understand the extremes to which the average American had been stirred by war psychosis and war propaganda. "It is very inconvenient," he sighed.

It was the time when the virulently anti-German attitude of American opinion proved annoying to England, which was engaged in a diplomatic battle with France. I was amused by the position in which British propagandists found themselves after the War.

However, having followed every move in their game, I understood their psychology. The moment England had decided that she was obligated to carry out the "gentleman's agreement" with France, her propagandists had rushed to the typewriters. Presently anti-German news despatches came sizzling over the transatlantic cables from London—the centre of American news-gathering forces in Europe. Our newspapers were helpless victims of circumstances. The German cable was cut, the German wireless censored, while the British cables, going night and day, spluttered ceaselessly new tales of German atrocities.

The public did not know that the same stories had done service in every war. The tale was ancient; only the dressing was new. A few students of public opinion recognized in the atrocity stories old acquaintances only slightly disguised. Some were reminiscences of

the Belgian régime in the Congo ; others had figured in the stories of Russian pogroms ; many were a rehash of mutual recriminations engendered in other European engagements. During the Civil War similar charges were made against us in European gazettes !

Great Britain may disown specific performances of some of her propagandists. She cannot deny their activities as a whole. Sir William Wiseman chooses to regard his own work until 1917 as counter propaganda and he regards the work of Sir Gilbert Parker as unofficial. Propaganda remains propaganda even if it is ostensibly "unofficial." Unofficial activities are sometimes more important than official activities. It is not the gold braid that makes the ambassador. It is not the seal of office that makes the secretary of state. If Colonel House was the unofficial secretary of state, Sir William was the secret ambassador of Great Britain. Both had the key to the White House. Both consulted almost daily in 1917.

"All the roads lead ultimately to Magnolia," said Lord Northcliffe, propagandist-in-chief of the British Empire, on a tour of inspection in the United States. Magnolia is the summer residence of Colonel House. A private wire ran from the study of Colonel House to the State Department.

"It is only necessary to lift the receiver and I reach Polk's desk immediately," said the Colonel.

"Sir William Wiseman," cabled Lord Northcliffe to Winston Churchill, "is the only person who has access to Wilson and House at all times. He had an hour and a half with Wilson last week and a day with House. The Administration is entirely run by these two men. Wilson's power is absolute, and House is a wise assistant. Both are pro-English."

House was the better self of Woodrow Wilson. Though pro-English, he retained a sense of detachment from the rancours of the War. This very sense of

detachment made him an invaluable adviser to Willie Wiseman. Lord Northcliffe was a living dynamo, charging British propaganda throughout the world with his own restless energy. Subtle, shrewd, unobtrusive, Sir William directed the forces of British propaganda behind the scenes. Its spokesman in public after April, 1917, was Sir Geoffrey Butler, representing the Ministry of Information. He was assisted by Henry Good, Louis Tracy, the British novelist, and others in the task of swaying American public opinion. Before April, 1917, British propaganda was officially non-existent. Unofficially it was in the hands of Sir Gilbert Parker, author of *The Seats of the Mighty*. For a person who did not exist, Sir Gilbert Parker evinced a vitality that is astounding.

II

SIR GILBERT CONFESSES

The ink was hardly dry on the declaration of war between England and the Central Powers when Sir Gilbert Parker seized the reins of British propaganda in the United States. The scope of his department was very extensive and his activities ranged over many fields. While Dr. Fuchr was preparing weekly reports to Berlin on the subject of public opinion in the United States, Sir Gilbert prepared similar reports for the British cabinet. He kept in constant touch with the prominent correspondents of American newspapers in England. He arranged interviews for American newspaper men with Lloyd George, Viscount Grey, Balfour, Bonar Law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Robert Cecil, Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, Lord Gladstone, Lord Haldane, Henry James, John Redmond, Mr. Selfridge, the department-store king; Israel Zangwill, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and fully a hundred others.

British propaganda supplied 360 newspapers in the United States with an English newspaper which gave a weekly review and comment on the affairs of the War. It established contacts with the man in the street through moving pictures of the army and navy. Like the German propagandists, Sir Gilbert cultivated the article and the pamphlet. He made a point of instigating letters to the editor in reply to individual American critics. These letters were printed in the chief newspapers in the cities in which the critics lived and were frequently copied elsewhere. I have already described similar activities by Germans.

At his headquarters in New York Sir Gilbert Parker received, constantly, reports from important Americans. He engaged personally or through his agents in a wide-flung correspondence with influential and eminent people in the United States, especially university men and college professors. Fishers of men, the propagandists neglected no profession or situation.

Through friends and correspondents, Sir Gilbert Parker arranged speeches, debates, and lectures by American citizens. He did not encourage Britishers to preach the doctrine of American participation. He preferred to be the prompter concealed in his box, to whom the American actors on the stage looked for their cues.

Like the Germans, Sir Gilbert assiduously distributed documents and literature to a great number of libraries, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs, and newspapers. His delicate task was facilitated by his acquaintance in the United States and his literary prestige.

The Germans co-operated with their various *Deutsche Vereine*. Sir Gilbert enlisted the co-operation of the Society of Pilgrims. He helped to establish the American Officers' Club in an aristocratic London mansion, under the auspices of the Duke of Connaught, and he

was instrumental in assuring the success of the pilgrimage of the Hon. James M. Beck to England in 1916 with the avowed object of working for "unity" between the two nations.

These statements of Sir Gilbert Parker's activities are taken almost word for word from an article written by him for an American magazine, after the rupture of relations between Germany and the United States.

Sir Gilbert Parker himself insists that his propaganda activities were authorized by the British Government. Nettled by the suggestion that his mission was self-appointed, he said to me at the Hotel Gotham in New York, some ten years after the War: "Every penny of our expense was paid by the British Government except for the contributions which I received from Americans."

"Who," I asked, "authorized your work?"

Sir Gilbert Parker's hand strayed musingly over his white beard.

"It was authorized," he said, "by Sir Edward Grey. Sir Edward asked Charles Masterman to arrange a publicity bureau, and I was entrusted with the work in the United States.

"I resigned on the day on which President Wilson handed to Bernstorff his passports. Then Lord Northcliffe came over to reorganize British propaganda in the United States in accordance with his own world-wide plans.

"The British Government sanctioned our activities from the beginning, although it did not publicly assume responsibility for them until after America entered the War."

"Will you," I asked, "tell the true story of British propaganda in your memoirs?"

"I shall say nothing," the old novelist replied very earnestly, "except what I have already written in my

article on propaganda. I have no right to reveal the innermost secrets of the British Government."

"To what extent did you rely upon American collaboration?"

"One of my most valued collaborators," Sir Gilbert remarked, "was a young Harvard man, Mr. Kenneth Durant, who volunteered to serve in the British army but was rejected because of his nationality. He came to me offering his services without compensation. I am indebted to Durant for extraordinary weekly interpretations of the state of public opinion. He read more than sixty newspapers for me every day, and I sent him scouring for information from coast to coast.

"Sir Edward Grey asked me who was the author of the remarkable analyses which I forwarded weekly to London. He was surprised when I told him that it was an unknown young college man. Thus the stream of our huge organization was fed by tributaries, large and small, from innumerable sources over and under the ground."

III

ENTER THE MASTER

While Sir Gilbert Parker was marshalling the forces of propaganda (unofficially), Sir William Wiseman was gassed and wounded at Ypres. In the fall of 1915, after being decorated for courage, he arrived in the United States to take charge (officially) of the Intelligence Service. He brought with him a gallant fellow officer, also incapacitated for service at the Front by his wound. This officer, who, like Wiseman, succeeded in keeping his name out of print, was Norman G. Thwaites.

The two emissaries found conditions in the United States in a sorry mess. The British secret service, hastily organized at the outbreak of the War, had

scored few successes. It had been conducted along old-fashioned lines. Though escaping public exposure, it resembled in many respects the clumsy espionage of the Germans. It may be said that the British secret service was "in Dutch" with its own embassy.

Immediately upon the arrival of Sir William Wiseman and Colonel Thwaites, the old secret service was disbanded and a new secret service was organized. Officially, but secretly, Sir William Wiseman and Thwaites directed propaganda and counter propaganda, counter espionage, passport control, and so on. In time these duties grew too many for them, and after America entered the War the official and public propaganda bureau was established by Sir William Wiseman, under the control of Sir Geoffrey Butler.

Butler's headquarters on Fifth Avenue became the centre of a very active propaganda to beguile Americans into the British camp. It arranged for interviews, it exploited the movies, the photograph and the lecture, along the lines already laid down by Sir Gilbert Parker.

Sir William Wiseman remained demurely in the background while his puppets danced. I have told elsewhere the surprise of the Assistant Secretary of State when he learned that his bosom friend, Sir William Wiseman, was the invisible head of England's secret forces in the United States. Although his official capacity was now known to the American Government, it still remained a secret to the public at large.

The picturesque Guy Gaunt, tremendously energetic, if not always discreet, was generally regarded as being the actual head of the British secret service. Guy Gaunt indulged in activities of his own. Independent of the Embassy and independent of the secret service, he reported directly to the head of the naval intelligence in London.

Sir William Wiseman was delighted that Guy Gaunt was considered the chief of the secret service. This

misunderstanding drew the attention of the enemy to the naval attaché and permitted Wiseman to go his way unmolested. Wiseman was looked upon merely as a humble member of the British mission to supervise the purchase of war supplies.

One day he was the guest at a luncheon in the house of one of the upper Four Hundred. The hostess was in high fettle and told Sir William confidentially, "You are going to meet the head of your secret service."

"Who is the head of our secret service?"

"Ah," she said, "that is a secret." She whispered: "It is Captain Guy Gaunt."

Poor Guy Gaunt squirmed, but his tongue was tied.

From the first cocktail to the last cigarette, the amiable hostess poured into the ears of Sir William Wiseman the marvellous exploits of Captain Guy Gaunt in his capacity as the head of the secret service.

Sir William Wiseman acted always with circumspection. Lord Northcliffe generally knew how to curb his pen and his tongue. But the English as well as the Germans had their firebrands. The most notorious of this group was John R. Rathom, editor of the *Providence Journal*. Sir William Wiseman repudiates Rathom. Nevertheless, British propaganda benefited, at times, from his calculated indiscretions.

Rathom led a campaign against the Germans and German sympathizers which reached its culmination in 1917-18. His stories of German plots provided new thrills for the pro-Allies at every breakfast. Rathom was in close touch with his compatriot, Captain Guy Gaunt. He had undoubtedly access to secret sources of information. When these sources failed him, he drew freely upon his imagination. He frankly made this admission in 1920 when he was charged by Franklin D. Roosevelt with circulating false and defamatory libels.

The *World's Work* discontinued the publication of a series of articles on German plots by Rathom in

1918 because it had reason to believe that his material was faked. Rathorn's reputation received its final blow at the hands of the Department of Justice. He was almost the only British propagandist who was publicly exposed. But his exposure came too late. The venom which he had injected into his articles was circulating freely through all arteries of public opinion in the United States.

Not counting volunteer American workers, the British Bureau of Information began with a personnel of nine at the time of Balfour's installation. When the last shot was fired the number of Sir Geoffrey Butler's aides had risen to fifty-four. Taking a leaf from the book of the Germans, they plastered the country with pro-Ally posters. Volunteer lecturers from England, discouraged for a time by Sir Gilbert Parker, now darkened our skies like locusts. Without assuming responsibility for them, Sir Geoffrey Butler and his assistants facilitated their efforts. They also made arrangements for the large number of speakers officially sent by the government.

Intelligence service is not always intelligent service. But Sir William Wiseman gave his country both. Foreseeing the inevitable reaction after the War, he revealed his tact by discouraging the spread of atrocity stories by his countrymen. "Leave that," he said, "to others."

When British war heroes like Ian Hay (John Hay Beith) came to the United States under his orders, he told them: "Never besmirch the enemy. Create good will, not by attacking the Germans, but by praising them and admitting their gallantry. This is the best sort of propaganda. The atrocity mongers are overshooting the mark."

Sir William Wiseman did not disavow numerous speakers, including a famous playwright, who claimed to be connected with his secret service. He even did

them the favour of putting their names on the list which he sold to the Germans !

Colonel House knew the mission of Sir William Wiseman. He pays Sir William the compliment of printing his photograph with an affectionate inscription in the third volume of his *Intimate Papers*. Many skeletons rattle their bones in this closet. House admits that the Allies regarded Wiseman as the "authoritative" exponent of President Wilson's policy. Wiseman's intimacy with both Wilson and House made it possible for him to obtain for certain of his confidential reports to his government the seal of Mr. Wilson's approval.

"There still remains," Wiseman declares in a memorandum on American co-operation, "a mistrust of Great Britain inherited from the days of the War of Independence and kept alive by the ridiculous history books still used in the national schools." President Wilson read this memorandum and pronounced it an "accurate summary."

"There is," Wiseman goes on to say, "the historical sympathy for France, and trouble could far more easily be created between the British and the Americans than any of our Allies. German propaganda naturally follows this line and has been almost entirely directed against England. Any pronouncement the Allied governments can make which will help the President to satisfy the American people that their efforts and sacrifices will reap the disinterested reward they hope for will be gratifying to him and in its ultimate result serve to commit America yet more wholeheartedly to the task in hand."

Under Wiseman's guidance, British propaganda dedicated itself to the task of educating "public opinion and Congress, in order to ensure the enormous loans and supplies that Britain requires." "Germany's greatest asset," Wiseman said to Colonel House in September, 1917, "is the 3,000 miles that separate

Washington and London." He tried to make himself a living bridge between the two countries. Scenting the President's misgivings on account of the secret treaties of the Allies, he persuaded Balfour to expound these obligations in a lengthy communication to Mr. Wilson. After 1919 Sir William Wiseman acted as the official adviser of the British delegates at the Peace Conference on all matters pertaining to the United States. He is to-day a partner in a celebrated international banking house.

The success of Sir William Wiseman depended in part upon the fact that his hands were not tied by red tape. The Germans made the mistake of centralizing their efforts. The English propagandists had six or eight different offices, one in the Woolworth Tower, one in a private apartment, still another in some business office, and so on. No one man could expose all their secrets because no one man, with the exception of Sir William, was in possession of all the facts. The German method of organization discouraged initiative. Too many cooks spoiled their broth.

Sir William had absolute authority in America. His nearest superior was in London. No embassy interfered with him. In spite of unlimited resources, Wiseman did not encourage lavish expenditures.

"The use of large money is dangerous in propaganda," he said to me in a confidential mood. "Even under the most favourable circumstances, seventy-five per cent. of all money spent on secret service work is wasted. Most of the money which the Germans paid to the Hindus for propaganda was invested immediately in real estate. It was not coined into paper bullets."

Early in the War stupid officials arrested Thomas Masaryk, who had sought refuge in London solely to intrigue against the Empire of the Hapsburgs. Sir William Wiseman intervened on behalf of the rebel chieftain. In appreciation for this service, Masaryk

placed the Bohemian National Alliance under the jurisdiction of Sir William.

Captain Voska, the head of this secret band, fighting for the independence of Bohemia from the Austrian yoke, had established a marvellously efficient system of espionage against the Central Powers in the United States. The exposure of Ambassador Dumba and, I believe, even the abstraction of Dr. Albert's historic portfolio are feathers in Voska's cap. Voska commanded an army of German-speaking Czechs in the American consulates of the Dual Monarchy. These men (and women) enabled Sir William to participate in the secret councils of German and Austrian officials. After America joined the belligerents Voska placed himself and his bureau at the disposal of the American Government.

The Russians, though ignorant of Wiseman's identity, were anxious to serve under British tutelage. Wiseman refused to incur this liability. The French depended upon him for advice. After our declaration of war, Arthur Woods, Assistant to the Secretary of War, wanted to consult Wiseman with regard to the first steps to be taken. Aware of the presence of enemy spies, Wiseman did not wish this meeting to take place where they could be seen.

One day he could be observed taking a walk on Riverside Drive. His leisurely steps led him, as if by accident, to a prearranged spot on the Hudson River, where he boarded a police boat that whisked him away. Waiting for him in the cabin was Arthur Woods. Wiseman entrusted Woods with a list of dangerous persons to be arrested at once. Sir William denies the contention that this list contained the names of all pro-German and Irish leaders. He admits that it did contain the names of a number of Hindu conspirators.

While one of these Hindus was being questioned at headquarters, a high official of the British Secret

Service in India stood behind a screen, unseen by the prisoner, and prompted the American official. The Hindu was thunderstruck by the immense amount of information concerning himself and his family, possessed by the American Secret Service. Overwhelmed by surprise, he confessed, revealing a network of conspiracy and propaganda.

IV

LORD NORTHCLIFFE WORKS HARD

British propaganda, spreading its web from London, was active at all times, before, during, and after the War. The navy and the army immediately organized departments designed primarily for propaganda at the front and behind enemy lines. An official press bureau was started in 1914. Some of these efforts were correlated subsequently by the Department of Information, founded in January, 1917, by Colonel Buchan and an advisory committee. This committee included Lord Northcliffe. It was strengthened subsequently by the addition of Lord Beaverbrook and Sir George, now Lord, Riddell.

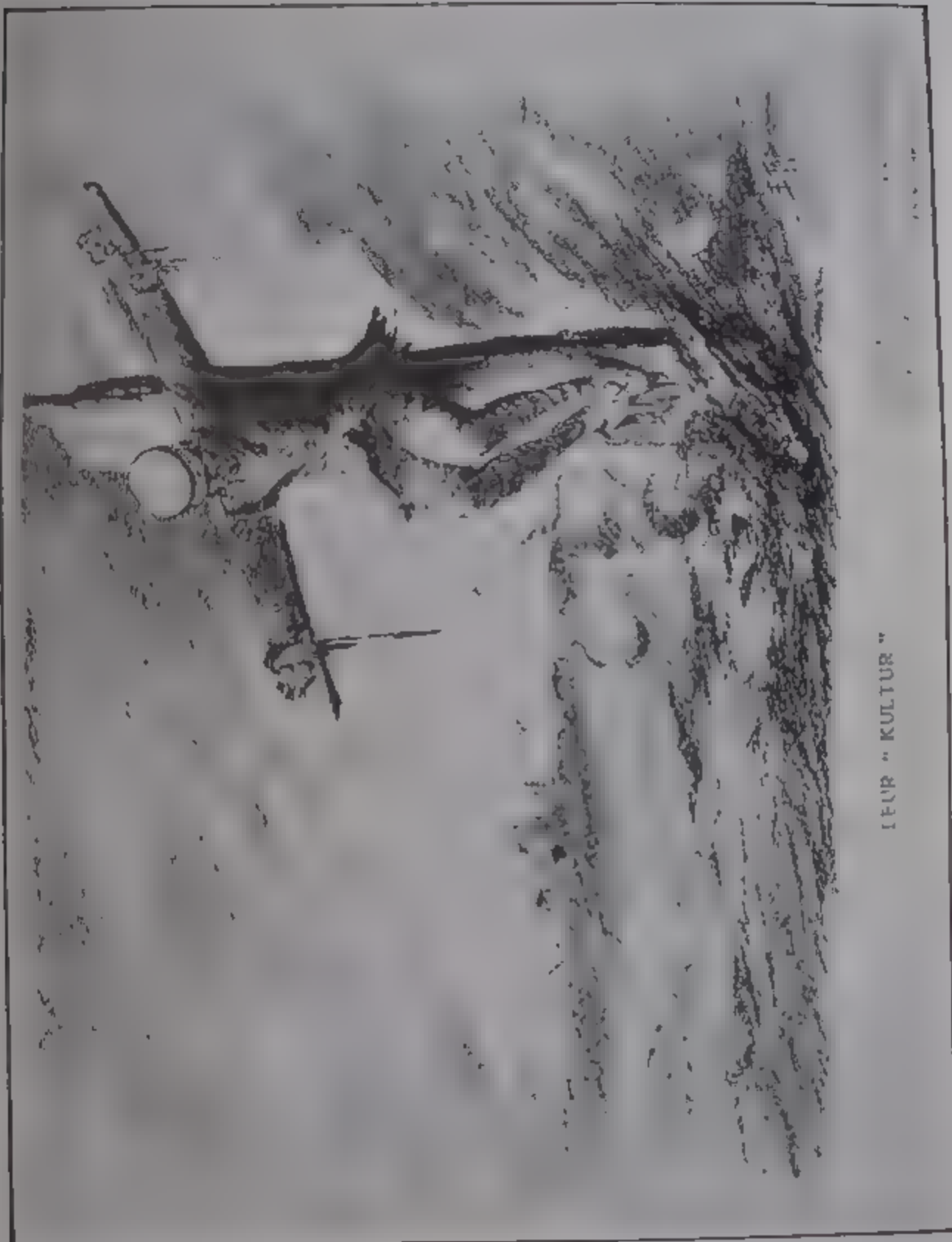
In 1918 Beaverbrook took over the new Ministry of Information. Lord Northcliffe was made Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. Directors for neutral countries and for film propaganda were also appointed. Before taking up his official duties, Northcliffe made an excursion to the United States, at the head of the British Mission. His original job was to co-ordinate purchases, but his journalistic mind immediately turned toward propaganda. Geoffrey Butler was already on the job. Northcliffe consulted with Sir William Wiseman and with Colonel House, as well as with Sir Geoffrey as to the ways and means of making British propaganda in America more effec-

tive. "I never," he declared afterwards, "worked so hard in my life."

After his return to London from his American trip, Lord Northcliffe established at Crewe House the most stupendous propaganda machine the world has ever seen. The secrets of British propaganda in enemy countries, a propaganda emanating from Crewe House, have been exposed by Sir Campbell Stuart, second in command after Northcliffe. The story of British propaganda in the United States, with the exception of a chapter here and there, remained a sealed book until now. "No one," Sir William remarked, "knew our secrets. The Germans thought they had a blue print of our organization, but they were disillusioned. I sold them our plans, taking good care to mention as our agents people active in our behalf who were not really connected with us at all. The Germans paid handsomely for the hoax. They followed the false clues I gave them, leaving my hands free."

Allied propagandists covered their tracks very well. They destroyed every compromising document wherever possible. If a compromising document were of such importance that it could not be destroyed, they marked it "Confidential, for the Information of the United States Secret Service Only." This saved their faces if the papers in question were seized by the American Government. They could then say with virtuous indignation: "We know that this was compromising, but don't you see, it was our intention to let you into the secret?" How entirely different were the Germans! Their idea was that confidential matters would remain a dark secret as long as incriminating documents were simply marked: *Streng vertraulich!* (Strictly confidential!)

The Germans lost portfolios. Their correspondence was subpoenaed, ransacked, and stolen. Their secrets were shouted from the housetops. They were



LEUR "KULTUR"

LEUR "KULTUR"
BY BILL POPE

subjected to every possible scrutiny by official and unofficial agencies. There is very little that we do not know about their activities.

The name of every one associated with German propaganda was bandied about in the press. Bank records were probed by expert accountants. Cheques payable to German agents were reproduced in newspapers from legal records. Statements of public officials, not always overscrupulous, and debates in legislatures gave immunity to wild accusations rarely susceptible of proof. After our entrance into the War any attack on a pro-German was, so to speak, privileged.

The Allies suffered from no such handicap.

It would be easy to name dozens of men who were in fact British, French, and Russian agents. But such revelations would not be privileged. That is the chief reason why Allied propaganda has never been fully exposed. It used practically the same methods as the German, but it used these methods more adroitly.

In any case, owing to the more favourable conditions under which Allied propagandists laboured their blunders were rarely detected, or they were glossed over for reasons of policy and state.

No one knew how to marshal the forces of propaganda more expertly than Lord Northcliffe. When he arrived here in 1917 England owed \$400,000,000 to private American bankers. She was unable to pay this debt except with American aid. It was necessary to conciliate American public opinion with the idea of financing the British Empire. The lords of propaganda thought that America underestimated England's sacrifices.

"There is no German propaganda against the French," groans Northcliffe on September 8, 1917. "The whole Irish and German propaganda is to the

effect that we are getting all the money and are doing little of the work. We do our utmost to counteract these impressions by means of my personal influence with friends of the American press. But we have far to go before we have placed ourselves on an equality with the French here. To do so, we must at least be as well equipped, scientifically and otherwise, as they are."

Working like a sedulous beaver, Lord Northcliffe, through personal contacts and through the press, strove to overcome the alleged handicap of the British. While fanning industriously the fires of propaganda, he tried to refrain from the scolding tone toward the American Government which some pro-Ally Americans considered proper.

"You may rely upon me," he cables to Balfour, "never to use minatory language. I have been dealing with these people for thirty years. Nothing can be gained here by threats, much by flattery and self-abnegation."

Northcliffe humbles himself, if necessary, to serve his country. The memory of Henry Ford's Peace Ship is sunk without a trace. "I have endeavoured to get in touch with Ford," he writes, "but he has put me off. It may be necessary for me to go to Detroit and eat humble pie, and if so, I will do so gladly. Ford is entirely indifferent to financial considerations."

The two men meet. Ford is charmed.

"Ford," says Northcliffe, with uncanny intuition, "who looks like the Bishop of London, is an anti-militarist, an ascetic, and must not be treated as a commercial man." He advises the Prime Minister to be cinematographed with the Ford tractors. Ford, he knows, will appreciate the compliment.

With equal shrewdness, Lord Northcliffe presents the self-taught philosopher of Dearborn with a copy of Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, and of Tennyson's *Letters*!

"Please," he cables, "send the books directly to him in Detroit with my compliments."

Propaganda was one of the chief topics of discussion in the conferences between Lord Northcliffe and Colonel House. The drift of these conversations appears from a cable addressed by Lord Northcliffe to Lloyd George :

I do not know how far House speaks for the President in this matter of propaganda, but in the course of our interviews he referred to it again and again. He said the War was being fought without imagination; that where the Germans have spent millions in propaganda, we have only spent thousands, and that ours was poor matter at that. He repeated that it is essential to spread in Germany through neutral newspapers, by aeroplanes and by the numerous German visitors to be found in Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Norway, news of the immense expenditures and preparations being made by the United States. . . .

House pointed out that the Allies had been altogether outwitted in propaganda—in Russia—and everywhere else. If a small portion of the money which had been expended in war material had been put into effective propaganda in Russia, in neutral countries and in South America, where we had allowed the Germans to spread their lies unchecked, the War would have nearly reached its conclusion.

In his activities, Lord Northcliffe subordinated his convictions to the policies of his government. Northcliffe, admits his chief aide, Sir Campbell Stuart, was actuated by the principle that propaganda must act as a peacemaker to policy, and "mould public opinion without appearing to do so." To make propaganda shape policy, Sir Campbell Stuart adds, is as fatal as to conduct propaganda campaigns without policy or with conflicting policies. There were occasions, nevertheless, when Lord Northcliffe locked horns with his government.

Crewe House, the town mansion of the Marquis of Crewe, was the centre of British propaganda. A steady stream of propaganda directed by Northcliffe

from Crewe House flowed into Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Bulgaria. One of the first official acts of Lord Northcliffe after assuming the direction of propaganda in enemy countries was to dispatch emissaries to the Congress of the Oppressed Hapsburg Nationalities, composed of Italians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Rumanians, which met at Rome in April, 1918. Its activities were a potent factor undermining the Dual Monarchy. The English adopted the ingenious device of playing phonograph records of Czechoslovak and Southern Slav songs in No Man's Land to arouse the nationalist sentiment among the troops of these races in the Austrian armies.

H. G. Wells accepted Lord Northcliffe's invitation to take charge of the propaganda war against Germany. Mr. Wells made a systematic study of Germany from the point of view of propaganda, and collected much valuable material, which governed his efforts and those of his successor, Mr. Hamilton Fyfe. Our own propaganda was indebted to Mr. Wells for valuable directions. Mr S. A. Guest, engaged in propaganda work on behalf of the British Government from the beginning of the War, placed at the disposal of the Conference a network of secret posts through which news seeped into enemy countries.

An Inter-Allied propaganda committee, composed of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America, grew out of conferences in Crewe House. This committee formulated the policies which governed Allied propaganda until the end of the War. The minutes of the meetings of the Allied and Associated propagandists constitute a textbook on the science and art of propaganda. Such, at least, is the boast of Sir Campbell Stuart, the right hand of Northcliffe.

The committee craftily pointed out the importance of neutral organs read or quoted in enemy countries.

It laid stress on establishing relations with organs which had a reputation for strict neutrality or were even publicly regarded as being prejudiced in favour of the foe. The committee recommended that each power should seek, through its agencies, to establish channels through which enemy newspaper correspondents could be influenced or provided with information. It arranged for the clandestine circulation in enemy countries of carefully chosen literature, preferably of articles and speeches written by enemy subjects of "pro-Ally" or "revolutionary" tendencies, like Prince Lichnowski, former German Ambassador in London. Agents of Crewe House and of Creel smuggled literature of this type into Germany and Austria camouflaged as books by popular German authors.

"Personal propaganda" among enemy subjects living in neutral countries was I quote Sir Campbell Stuart—"tactfully pursued." Both Northcliffe and Creel entered with enthusiasm into the policy of sowing dissension between the German Government and the German people. Creel's agents were especially successful in establishing contacts with disaffected Germans and with German officials susceptible to Allied allurements. The German Revolution was cradled in Switzerland.

German radicals in Geneva, like Dr. Grelling, author of *J' Accuse*; Dr. Muehlton, and Dr. Rosenmeyer, welcomed Creel's agents with open arms. Creel aided the *Freie Zeitung*, a bi-weekly paper published by these men and spirited into Germany. He dispatched Dr. Frank Bohn to Switzerland to represent the so-called American Friends of German Democracy in Switzerland and distributed several thousand copies of the *Freie Zeitung* in the United States. At least two thousand paragraphs supplied by the Creel service were disseminated weekly by Mrs. Vera White-

house, propagandist extraordinary of the Administration, in the Swiss press.

The Inter-Allied Conference agreed to saddle the German Government with the blame for Germany's ills in its propaganda. It instigated attacks against the Hohenzollern Dynasty from ostensibly German sources. The propagandists were shrewd enough to realize that attacks obviously inspired by Germany's enemies were likely to strengthen the Emperor's hold on his people.

It was an important function of Inter-Allied propaganda to prepare public opinion for the peace demands of the Allies, including the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine from German to French sovereignty, and the creation of an independent Poland with a corridor to the sea.



BRITISH HANDICAPS

In many of his activities, Sir William Wiseman depended on Colonel Norman G. Thwaites. Having the advantage of a German education, Thwaites was able to mingle freely with the Germans without betraying his origin. I am indebted to Thwaites for much valuable information. The War being over, he discussed his activities with the utmost candour.

"The German press in America," he explained to me in a famous Piccadilly hotel, "numbered several hundred publications. Read by several millions of Germans, Hungarians, Austrians, and by the Slav races of the Balkans, these publications had the eye and ear of important political groups. The British, French, and Russian papers in the United States were negligible.

"Irish opinion, well organized and politically potent presented a united front in opposition to all things British. It is safe to say," he continued, "that of the hundred million inhabitants of the States, one-third was bitterly opposed to the British cause, one-third was apathetic during the first two years of the War as to its outcome, and the remaining one-third was pro-Ally, if not pro-British."

This estimate agreed largely with my own division of American public opinion into three camps, although it seemed to me that Thwaites underestimated the importance of pro-British sentiment in the United States.

"Even the most friendly American," he replied when I made this point, "had at the back of his mind a scarcely expressed desire to see John Bull's Navy take a knock, though the thoughtful and travelled American was quite secure in his belief that England's victory was a better outcome from the American viewpoint than the triumph of the Central Powers."

"The Germans were excellent propagandists. German films at moving-picture houses depicted the Emperor reviewing troops or witnessing endless columns of Prussian troops, Bavarians, Saxons, and so on. The German Navy, it would appear, was the only fleet on the high seas! German professors at Columbia and Harvard and other seats of learning vied with each other in presenting to a puzzled American public the why and wherefore of the War. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of the United States were convinced that Germany was about to repeat her rapidly achieved triumph of 1870. The remaining third anxiously hoped for Allied victory."

"Your opinion of German propaganda is more flattering than the estimate with which it is regarded by the Germans themselves," I remarked.

"Never," Thwaites replied, "underestimate a re-

sourceful foe. When we arrived the papers were filled with articles, letters, and interviews by learned professors. Some of these were hysterical and worthless. Others were well and closely reasoned. Excellent work was done by Dr. Dernburg and Dr. von Mach. George Sylvester Viereck was sometimes wrong in his statements of events. Quite often he was near the truth. Always he was worth watching. It was a battle of wits."

"Was it not also a matter of luck?"

Thwaites grinned.

"Dr. Albert had the worst sort of luck, as did Dr. Karl Bertling and Herr von Igel. The private papers of these gentlemen fell into our hands. In each case, if the truth be told, by good luck plus good friends of England!

"We outwitted enemy agents early in the conflict, but could not touch them until after America came into the War. Masses of material and bulky *dossiers* were all ready for the American intelligence services, naval, military, and civil, the moment Bernstorff received his passports."

"It seems to me," I remarked, "that your people were invariably victorious."

"By no means," Thwaites replied, his eyes shining with the joy of remembered battles. "However, we are under the impression that we scored more victories and more frequently achieved our ends than did our opponents."

"Traps were laid for us and we retaliated. Each side attempted to betray the antagonist into a breach of Uncle Sam's laws. To tamper with the United States mails, to alter a passport, or to procure one or more unlawfully, to enter or leave the States in an irregular manner, were some of the temptations!

"Without boasting, I may say that not a single British officer was sent home. No less than ten rep-

representatives of Central Powers were politely requested to return whence they came!"

"What did you learn concerning the plans of Germany's propagandists?"

"Among the personal papers that found their way into our hands were plans for securing the good offices of all sorts and conditions of society. Lutheran clergymen were requested to preach sermons favouring the German cause, teachers were to interlard their instructions with references to the War and the invincibility of the forces of the fatherland.

"Later on we ascertained that the Irish, the Hindus, and other races were exploited for propaganda purposes. The Indian seditionists were led by the notorious Lajpat Rai, Dr. Shrakrabarti, and others in the East, while Ram Chandra in California carried on an energetic campaign, brought to a tragic end in the Courts of Law when two Indians were shot dead and some thirty or forty defendants were convicted of 'conspiracy against a friendly power.' It was shown that Dr. Shrakrabarti and his accomplices received vast sums from their German paymasters."

"What," I asked, "were your greatest handicaps?"

"We were guilty of one colossal stupidity," Thwaites replied. "That was the firm and unbendable decision of the British chiefs of intelligence that no pro-German writer or any person even suspected of harbouring anti-British sentiment should be allowed to set foot anywhere under the British flag."

"What was the result?"

"Dozens of American and other journalists whose honest opinion was that Germany would prove the victor were refused access to British territory, while having full freedom to visit the enemy countries, where they were impressed by the mighty preparations of Germany and the inexhaustible resources of the Central Powers.

"In 1914 Herbert Bayard Swope of the *New York World* was at the Azores awaiting the arrival of Mr. Wanamaker's flying boat, America. War was declared while he was impatiently kicking his heels somewhere in Europe. He was promptly ordered to Berlin. He saw the Emperor and the great war lords, he interviewed the Austrian leaders. They showed him their great guns and told of greater that would presently amaze the Tommy and the Poilu. Though Swope passed through England on his way back to America to tell of Germany's unconquerable spirit and her invincible arms, he saw nothing of Britain's preparations.

"That," the Colonel continued, "was Swope's last visit to England until after the Armistice. In vain he attempted, year after year, to break through the blockade of official red tape. It was with great difficulty that I was able to secure a visa for Ralph Pulitzer of the *World* and Louis Scibold, more than one year after hostilities had ceased.

"An appeal to Monsieur Jusserand per long distance telephone just before the ship started was eventually successful, and three of the best newspaper men were allowed to sail to Europe to see something of war's wreckage."

"Was the testimony of these men of such importance?"

"Undoubtedly," Thwaites replied. "Millions of doubting Thomases might have been converted to faith in the Allied cause if these men whom the British suspected of being German sympathizers had been allowed to give their testimony of Allied resolve. Indeed, coming from them, the evidence would have been all the more convincing."

"What was the obstacle to their visiting England and France?"

"Although all these gentlemen were American-born

citizens, one of them had a father who was born in Hungary, a second had a grandfather who was born in Germany, and the third had nothing more than a German name and was born in the German-American community of St. Louis, Missouri. Just the missionaries the Allies needed!"

"But why did London refuse to accept your advice?"

He shrugged his shoulders.

"I raised my small voice in vain and certainly made myself unpopular with those in the seats of the mighty in Whitehall."

"To what extent," I asked after a pause, "did you or your opponents use falsehood deliberately as a weapon of propaganda?"

The Colonel hesitated. "Propaganda," he replied, "is of two kinds: One class is scrupulously accurate, the other is intentionally inaccurate and wilfully untruthful. We are told sententiously that only truthful propaganda is of any use. I wish it were so.

"Just as it is possible to obtain a wide sale for an inferior or even worthless article by lavish advertisement, so one can secure belief in an utterly untrue statement, if it is often enough repeated.

"It is true, however, that the continued sale of a commodity is impossible, no matter how well advertised, unless it is what it claims to be. And untrue propaganda ceases to have value in the long run.

"Stories of atrocities were rife in the early part of the War, and both belligerents were alleged to be guilty. To-day every one is inclined to believe these accounts were exaggerated, although the books of Bernhardt and Treitschke gave colour to the belief that German ruthlessness and *Schrecklichkeit* demanded severe measures."

"What was your personal experience?"

"So far as my personal experience is concerned, I

never discovered any wilful and conscious untruth on the part of my propaganda opponents in the United States.

"I can say with even greater confidence that not willingly did I circulate, either by pen or tongue, statements that I knew to be false. I will admit, however, that both my enemy 'opposite numbers' and my colleagues and myself have reason to view with disapprobation some of the alleged 'Facts and Figures' with which we were fed by too zealous officials."

"Don't you think," I said, "that propaganda lies are apt to plague their inventors?"

"Yes, indeed," Thwaites remarked. "The farcical stories of the destruction of London and other great cities by the Germans undoubtedly had a demoralizing effect leading to the final débâcle among the civil population of Germany when they learned of the falsity of this propaganda.

"In the same way, in 1870, the French lulled both their armies and their population into a false sense of security by wild stories of German defeat. When the truth appeared the destruction of morale ensued, with charges of betrayal by their own generals and statesmen. Zola's *La Débâcle* has shown the folly of such propaganda."

VI

THE LEGEND OF FRIGHTFULNESS

The Atrocity Story was one big factor in English propaganda. Most of the reports of *Schrecklichkeit* emanating from London, were greedily swallowed by an unsuspecting public. They would have been less ready to accept the stories of German frightfulness if they had witnessed the birth of the most lugubrious



CANNON-FODDER -AND AFTER.

AND DON'T FORGET THAT YOUR KAISER WILL FIND A USE

for the treated chemicals.

THE MASTER HOAX OF THE WORLD WAR

The myth of the *Kadavererverwertungsanstalt* (Establishment for the Utilization of Corpses), sprung from the brain of General Charteris, was one of the devices employed by British propaganda to catapult China, where the respect for the bodies of the dead is a religion, into the World War. It was taken seriously in America and in England.

atrocities story at the headquarters of the British Intelligence Department in the spring of 1917.

"By Jove!" Brigadier General J. V. Charteris exclaimed. He whistled softly. The Chief of the British Army of Intelligence was fingering a series of photographs. Chuckling to himself he summoned his orderly.

A uniformed youth answered the summons.

"Bring me," the Chief asked, "a pair of shears and a paste pot."

Charteris, his face one broad grin, was comparing two pictures captured from Germans. The first was a vivid reproduction of a harrowing scene, showing the dead bodies of German soldiers being hauled away for burial behind the lines. The second picture depicted dead horses on their way to the factory where German ingenuity extracted soap and oil from the carcasses. The inspiration to change the caption of the two pictures came to General Charteris like a flash.

When the orderly arrived, the General dexterously used the shears and pasted the inscription "German Cadavers on Their Way to the Soap Factory" under the picture of the dead German soldiers. Within twenty-four hours the picture was in the mail pouch for Shanghai.

This is the genesis of the most perfect specimen in our collection of atrocities stories. The explanation was vouchsafed by General Charteris himself in 1926, at a dinner at the National Arts Club, New York City. It met with a diplomatic denial later on, but is generally accepted.

General Charteris dispatched the picture to China to revolt public opinion against the Germans. The reverence of the Chinese for the dead amounts to worship. The profanation of the dead ascribed to the Germans was one of the factors responsible for the Chinese declaration of war against the Central Powers.

General Charteris did not believe that the story would be taken seriously anywhere outside of China. He had not reckoned with the anti-German atmosphere created so skilfully by propaganda. The *Kadaververwertungsanstalt* passed into currency in the United States. It was not recognized as counterfeit until eight years later. The German "corpse factory" became part of the gruesome stock in trade of the propagandist.

The story of this myth from its inception to its final demolition has been traced by Arthur Ponsonby, who conscientiously records every phase of its evolution. With their usual acumen, the English attributed the first rumour of the story published in England to an American source. On April 16, 1917, the *London Times* printed a despatch based on the alleged remark of a "United States Consul" leaving Germany, that the Germans were "distilling glycerin from the bodies of their dead." The same issue of the *Times* quotes a passage from the Kaiser's own correspondent, Carl Rosner, which seems to corroborate the worst suspicions :

"We pass through Everingcourt. There is a dull smell in the air as if lime were being burnt. We are passing the great Corpse Exploitation Establishment (*Kadaververwertungsanstalt*) of this Army Group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils, and everything else is ground down in the bone mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pig's food and as manure nothing can be permitted to go to waste."

The *Times* does not state explicitly that the dead bodies are human. However, by translating *Kadaver*, a word used solely in connection with animals, with "corpse" the desired impression is conveyed to the reader. The *Times* points to Rosner's remark "as the first definite German admission concerning the way in which Germans use dead bodies."

On the following day the *Times* prints a number

of letters suggesting the use of the story for propaganda in neutral countries and in the East. The correspondents point out that it is especially calculated to horrify Buddhists, Hindus, and Mohammedans.

On April 29th the *Times* reports the alleged statement of a German prisoner to a British sergeant that the Germans "boiled down" their dead for "munitions and poultry food."

Other publications exploit the tale. A British medical journal, the *Lancet*, discusses the practical aspect of the new German industry. The Chinese Minister in London and a Maharajah simultaneously express their horror in the *Times* of April 21st. On April 24th the *Times* reprints a letter from the *North China Herald* recounting an alleged interview between von Hintze, the German Minister, and the Chinese Premier, wherein the German envoy triumphantly explains that Germany is overcoming her deficiency in certain chemicals by extracting glycerin from the dead!

Punch enters the ring with a cartoon in which the Kaiser addresses a recruit: "And don't forget that your Kaiser will find a use for you alive or dead." The picture of a corpse factory looms in the distance. Leaping from country to country, the story of the corpse factory undoubtedly had a considerable effect in marshalling sentiment against Germany. It was taken seriously both in the United States and in England.

When a sceptical M.P. interrogated the government, Charteris avoided a direct reply. He answered that, from what he knew of German mentality, he was "prepared for anything." Nor was he content to rest on his laurels. The Military Intelligence Bureau forged what purported to be the diary of a German soldier with further horrifying details of the corpse industry. It was the plan of those in charge to "plant" the diary on the battlefield and permit it to be "discovered" by an honest war correspondent. However,

something went wrong, and the diary reposes to-day in the War Museum of the British metropolis.

General Charteris' remark, printed first in New York, then in London, created a furore. His own denials convinced no one. More questions were asked in Parliament. Unwilling to disavow its own propagandists, the British Government still delayed a complete denial. Finally, Arthur Henderson, M.P., forced Sir Arthur Chamberlain to lay the ghost of the corpse factory once and for all. Chamberlain said :

"My right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for War, told the House last week how the story reached His Majesty's Government in 1917. The Chancellor of the German Reich has authorized me to say, on the authority of the German Government, that there was never any foundation for it. I need scarcely add that on behalf of His Majesty's Government, I accept this denial, and I trust that this false report will not again be revived."

The Germans, too, invented atrocity stories, but their efforts were less ingenious. Unlike stories of French and British origin, they did not penetrate the ear of the world.

Ponsonby destroys the myth that the German Government gave a medal to the crew of the German U-boat for sinking the *Lusitania*. No such medal was struck by the German Government. However, there was at least a grain of truth in this story. A metal worker in Munich designed a medal to commemorate the event. It was rare in Germany. But it was reproduced in large numbers in Great Britain for the purpose of propaganda.

Even more sinister was the shadow cast upon our minds by German periscopes. The submarine war evoked vociferous protests of indignation.

The British censor did not permit us to read the letter addressed by Lord Fisher to Admiral Tirpitz

on March 29, 1916: "I don't blame you for the submarine business. I'd have done the same myself, only our idiots in England wouldn't believe it when I told 'em." We were told that Germany alone could plan so foul a thing as unrestricted submarine warfare against merchantmen. Many years later Viscount Jellicoe, in an interview on the World War Under Water published in the London *Sphere*, declared: "I am quite sure that any nation in the future, fighting with her back to the wall, will be bound to employ submarines drastically and especially against the enemy's merchant ships."

The *La Revue Maritime*, published under the auspices of the Historical Division of the General Staff of the French Navy, says: "It is high time to have done with all erroneous ideas of the use of submarines by Germany. The submarine campaign was fully justified. To deny this is to state what is false. It is also quite erroneous, as was supposed at first, to hold that before an enemy ship is torpedoed, it must be given a warning. This whole subject involves a matter of principle from the standpoint of military law regarding which there can be no doubt on the part of those who are responsible for the conduct of a campaign in time of war."

In spite of mutual recriminations, we now know that gallantry prevailed on both sides, even in submarine warfare. This is evident from the stories now told by men of all nations who went down to the sea in ships to fight for their country. Admiral Sims officially states that the reports of the atrocities committed by German submarine commanders were, with a single exception, pure fabrication. But this denial failed to register in minds inflamed by war psychosis.

The press, under the guidance of propaganda, became a museum of horrors displaying German frightfulness. Cartoonists were enlisted to visualize the atrocities. The gruesome cartoons of the Dutch cartoonist, Rae-

macker, were especially effective. *Punch*, too, delivered telling blows. The Germans have devoted several volumes, edited by Ferdinand Avenarius, to exemplify the use of caricature in the World War.

Faking was a weapon frequently employed by both sides. Illustrations were deliberately "doctored." Old pictures of past atrocities were pressed into service with new titles. A snapshot of a Jewish pogrom occurring in 1905 in Russia was dressed up as a German atrocity in 1915. A London newspaper in 1915 displayed a picture of three German officers holding various trophies in their hands, with the caption: "Three German cavalymen loaded with gold and silver loot." This was a skilfully retouched reproduction of an illustration which had originally appeared in a Berlin paper and which showed the winners of a cavalry competition in the famous Grunewald near Berlin. Thus even the camera is made to deceive. For more details on this phase consult the chapter on Pictorial Propaganda.

Our common sense, lulled to sleep by the propagandist, failed us like our sense of humour. We were like men hypnotized. Reiteration is a secret of propaganda. Every day England drummed into our ears the legend of German frightfulness. It was not, as my friend the Master Propagandist insisted, sufficient to prove Germany guilty of an occasional act of cruelty inseparable from war. We must be made to believe that unspeakably fiendish crimes emanated from her philosophy of government, that German atrocities were part of a system proclaimed by Treitschke and symbolized by the Kaiser.

We shall not discuss the ethics involved. The Germans, too, did their best to depict Great Britain as the devil incarnate. In war time, as Ponsonby remarks, governments cannot afford to tell the truth. "Falsehood," he insists, "is a recognized and extremely useful weapon in warfare, and every country

uses it quite deliberately to deceive its own people, to attract neutrals and to mislead the enemy. The ignorant and innocent masses in each country are unaware at the time that they are being misled, and when it is all over only here and there are the falsehoods discovered and exposed. As it is all past history and the desired effect has been produced by the stories and statements, no one troubles to investigate the facts and establish the truth."

Big propaganda guns fired from England stimulated the host of American writers mobilized by Sir Geoffrey Butler and Sir Gilbert Parker. The biggest of the big propaganda guns was H. G. Wells. Every detonation of his pen thundered throughout the world and reverberated with special force in the United States. Similarly the British Government exploited with great perspicacity the candour of George Bernard Shaw.

To those reading Shaw's extraordinary emanations, England seemed, even in war time, a haven of free speech. In reality no government tolerates unbridled tongues or unbridled pens in times of war. Wells and Shaw were the liberal window dressing of the British Empire. Behind that window dressing were the secret treaties. Trained ears could detect, between the exhortations of Wells and Shaw, the muffled roar of the British Lion.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNCLE SAM GETS HIS GUN

I

THE MAYOR IS EXCITED

THE telephone on the desk of the editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, New York's German daily, rang hectically.

Slim, bland, debonair, Victor Ridder, the able son of Herman Ridder, put the receiver up to his ear.

"The Mayor would like to see you," said an excited voice on the other end of the line.

"All right," Mr. Ridder said. "I'll drop in sometime next week."

"No," the Mayor's secretary pleaded. "This is important. Please come at once."

Mr. Ridder found Mayor Mitchel greatly perturbed.

"War," he said, "is a matter of hours. We fear trouble in New York with its large foreign population. We all want to avoid any disturbance. Anything that happens here will cause repercussions throughout the country. How will the German-Americans take the declaration of war?"

"Mr. Mayor," Ridder remarked, "you agitate yourself unnecessarily. The German-Americans will receive the news with calm resignation. They will start no riots. But if you want to avoid all conflicts, tell your friends, the newspaper editors of New York, to stop their constant attacks on the loyalty of the German-Americans. Give a dog a bad name and he



ELLSWORTH YOUNG

The portrait of the German as a ravisher served to raise the blood of the American taxpayer to the boiling point and to lighten his pocketbook

TELL THAT TO THE MARINES!

SELLING
THE
WAR
TO
AMERICA



This Marine Corps poster by James Montgomery Flagg typifies the attitude of the public mind in America after twenty-one months of propaganda

becomes a bad dog. Insult the German-Americans and in time you will make them disloyal."

The Mayor requested Ridder to make a round of all the newspapers in New York City as his representative. "Explain the situation to them and secure their promise to refrain from any attacks calculated to arouse the resentment of German-Americans."

The energetic young editor was successful in his errand in every office save one. Mr. Frank I. Cobb, editor of the *New York Evening World*, refused to be bound by any agreement.

Mr. Ridder returned to Mayor Mitchel. Mayor Mitchel communicated with the Assistant Secretary of State. Telephones buzzed in Washington and in New York. Mr. Cobb's employers received a message from Washington. The message contained the clear implications that the first objectionable article or editorial appearing in the *New York Evening World* would lead to drastic action by the city authorities, with the full consent of the national government. Acting under authority conferred upon him by war legislation, the Mayor would seize the plant of *The Evening World*, and would not permit it to resume publication until he saw fit.

Upon this ultimatum the paper capitulated.

However, the covenant to refrain from attacks on German-Americans was violated before long by every newspaper. The cyclone of propaganda sweeping through the country, from coast to coast, with the advent of the Liberty Loan Campaign could no longer be curbed.

When the break with Germany came, the men associated with *The Fatherland*, even for a short time, found themselves outlawed and outcast. Viereck's father was a naturalized American, his mother is a native of California. His mother's father travelled west in a covered wagon in 1848, was captured by

the Indians, and, after thrilling adventures, finally reached San Francisco, where he established the first German theatre. Though born in Munich, Viereck was educated in the United States, being a graduate of the College of the City of New York. His mixed ancestry enabled him to understand both the German and the American point of view.

William Churchill, a distinguished publicist and former government official, in charge of the Foreign Language Publications for the Committee on Public Information, wrote to Viereck: "No one could wish that you could sink your individuality in blind conformity to a dull level of journalistic stupidity. . . . You have no desires other than the true triumph of our country." Nevertheless, the Poetry Society of America, and the Authors' League, purified literature by expelling George Sylvester Viereck. Except for a short reference his name disappeared from *Who's Who in America* for twelve years. One firm of publishers returned the plates of Viereck's books to his house in order to dissociate themselves completely from the author. The only publisher who refused to withdraw Viereck's books from the bookstalls was an Englishman, Mitchell Kennerly.

The beat of the war drums did not drown out all reason. Here and there a voice protested. George Bernard Shaw wrote from England: "If the Authors' League or the Poetry Society or any other organization expels a member because of his political opinions, it thereby constitutes itself a political body and violates whatever literary charter it may have. Literature, Art and Science are free of frontiers; and those who exploit them politically are traitors to the greatest republic in the world: the Republic of Art and Science."

Several members of the Poetry Society, sharing Mr Shaw's faith in literature, resigned. But no attention by the society or by the public at large was

paid to counsels of moderation or dissent. Clubs expelled members for speaking German. Dollar-a-year men, basking in the brief authority conferred upon them by the Military Intelligence Bureau, struck terror right and left. A recent trial brought out a typical instance of such intimidation. A Boston publisher specializing in thrillers sternly cross-examined the secretary of George Sylvester Viereck, on behalf of the Bureau of Military Intelligence. He threatened the frightened girl with dire penalties if she failed to reveal Viereck's misdoings. "If I cannot have him indicted for treason," he thundered, "I shall hire thugs to kill him." The girl was too intimidated to breathe a word of this cross-examination until many years later.

Viereck's associates fared no better. The young banker found himself without a job. Many years after the War he was still vainly struggling to earn a livelihood in China. It took him ten years to re-establish himself. The chemist was compelled to resign as the head of a large concern and to sever his connections with an American university. The young broker was taken from his family and interned at Fort Oglethorpe. It appeared, a fact not known at the time, that he had neglected to take out his second papers.

Viereck continued his magazine uninterruptedly throughout the War under the name of the *American Weekly*, to designate that it was "American first and American only." Not a single issue of Viereck's *Weekly* was barred from the mails, in spite of the rigid censorship exercised by the Post Office Department. Only one issue was withdrawn to which the Post Office Department objected because it contained a character sketch of Woodrow Wilson by Professor Hart, reprinted from the *Metropolitan Magazine* of which Theodore Roosevelt was at that time contributing

editor. Viereck co-operated for the success of the Liberty Loan and received official thanks for the "effectiveness of his patriotic advice."

"Give," he said, "not for hate of Germany, but for love of America."

He established a Labour Relief Bureau which secured for five thousand persons, mostly enemy aliens, positions on farms, etc., where they would be a menace neither to themselves nor to the country. This work was undertaken with the knowledge and consent of the Department of Justice. It was indorsed by the governors of many states.

The editor of *The Fatherland* was never "indicted" or "arrested." His office was never "raided." His papers were never "seized." Those facts, however, did not percolate through the thick layer of propaganda which coated the consciousness of the average American. To this day Viereck finds it impossible to convince most people, suckled on propaganda, that he did not spend several years in jail and that his publication was not "suppressed."

Falsehood seems to lead a charmed life. It is easier to murder the truth than to kill off a legend! Both the English and the Germans discovered, to their regret, that propaganda lies, more tenacious than weeds, defy the plough of truth for years, if not for generations. In view of the myths which enmeshed men in every country at war, one sometimes wonders if history is more than a chronicle of propaganda.

II

NO INNOCENTS ABROAD

A novice in the art of manipulating public opinion, Uncle Sam soon outstripped his masters. Woodrow Wilson was the High Priest of American propaganda.

Without prejudicing the bravery of our doughboys, it must be admitted that Wilson's Fourteen Points and the paper bullets directed by Creel's propaganda division won the War for the Allies.

Americans were the best propagandists because they were the best advertisers. From the very beginning, George Creel, the chief evangelist of American propaganda, instinctively turned to the advertising profession for advice and assistance. American propaganda sailed under the flag of information. The Committee on Public Information was appointed immediately after the entrance of the United States into the War. This committee was composed of the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of State, and George Creel, devout adherent of Woodrow Wilson. These men constituted Uncle Sam's Propaganda Cabinet.

Lifted from comparative obscurity, Creel woke up one morning to find himself the American Northcliffe. Like Northcliffe, he was responsible for propaganda both at home and abroad. But unlike Northcliffe, he did not have control of a powerful group of newspapers.

Creel's energy sometimes exceeded his tact. In spite of this handicap, and in spite of his inexperience in foreign affairs, Creel performed his job creditably. The dynamic strength of a young nation, summoned to crusade for democracy, gave force to Creel's blows. The chief credit, I repeat, belongs to his master, President Wilson. Wilson's Fourteen Points were the trumpet call which crumbled the rampart of the Central Powers. Germany was his Jericho.

In spite of our comparative inexperience, we were not innocents abroad or at home in propaganda. We always knew it in one form or another. But we did not penetrate its disguise. We called it politics, business, publicity, invisible government, and what

not. We did not label it propaganda. We have seen that Washington as well as Lincoln employed propagandists in Europe to justify the cause of America. Both the North and the South dispatched emissaries to propagate their cause in the Old World at the time of the Civil War. Meanwhile both sides conducted a lively campaign at home. Each side accused the other of unmentionable "atrocities."

Our forefathers did not achieve the perfect artistry of the "corpse factory," but violations of the dead and of the living, and the breaking of every law, human and divine, figure largely in their reciprocal recriminations. The Northern propagandists accused the Confederates of being "without the obligations of honour which bind the rest of mankind." They were "fiends," "hyenas," "cannibals." A Southern clergyman, Ballard S. Dunn, rector of St. Philip's Church in New Orleans, on the other hand, told his shuddering congregation tales of Confederate ladies tied before a slow fire while their feet were roasted to make them disclose the hiding place of a little purse of gold until "the once lithe and happy creatures are now club-footed and toeless." A Committee of the Confederate Congress, appointed to investigate these atrocity charges, sternly impeached the "demoniacal wrath of the North."

My own experience with propaganda leads me to assume that both the North and the South believed the atrocity stories they told, no matter how absurd the invention, how preposterous the exaggeration. The psychic scars left by these tales are not entirely healed even to-day. Similarly, some of the wounds left by our own propaganda in the World War still smart.

When George Creel, in charge of the Committee on Public Information, undertook "to sell the War" to the world in general and specifically to the people

of the United States, he soon realized our shortcomings in the field of applied mass suggestion.

"We were," he says, "and always had been, dependent upon foreign press agencies for intercourse with the world. The volume of information that went from our shores was comparatively small, and after it had been filtered in London or Paris it grew smaller and smaller, until it amounted to mere flashes when it reached a far country."

Is it surprising that American public opinion has often been, in the picturesque phrase of Professor Lasswell, a cockleshell floating helplessly and unconsciously in the wake of the British man-of-war? America interprets not only current events but the past in the light of British traditions. "Americans," Lasswell declares, "knew Shakespeare and not Goethe, and they thought the Battle of Waterloo was won by the Duke of Wellington and not by Bader." Nothing that the Germans could do or plan, offset this advantage.

THE

THE NIGGER IN THE WOODPULP

The predominance of London as a purveyor of news and of thought was no improvisation, but the slow growth of years. During the War the British, controlling all cables, monopolized the news. The wireless from Germany was less expert. The great wireless station at Nauen incessantly talked with a German accent. Moreover, radio communication had not reached its present perfection. As a result, even newspapers painfully anxious to preserve neutrality were inundated with pro-Ally news.

The Hearst papers were attacked by their enemies as pro-German. Yet, in the two years preceding our entrance into the War, they earned ten thousand

columns of pro-Ally matter to four thousand columns of pro-German news. This mathematical computation is the basis of a letter addressed by the late Bradford Merrill, manager of all the Hearst papers, to Senator Lee Overman. Mr. Merrill avers that all the matter received from both groups of belligerents was "propaganda."

In most newspapers the proportion of the pro-Ally to the pro-German material was ten to one. The large number of Englishmen employed in the editorial offices of American newspapers tended to give a pro-British slant to the news and to editorial comment. The Germans and the Irish were in the habit of printing long lists containing the names of such newspaper men.

Jeremiah O'Leary, President of the American Truth Society, during his trial cross-examined the publisher of one of the most important dailies in the United States. He aimed to show that in controversies between the two countries the newspaper in question had sided invariably with the British. He referred to an editorial, "The Truth at Last," expressing the opinion that in the famous Baralong case, skilfully exploited by German propagandists, the men who murdered the German submarine crew were not British mariners but American citizens.

Tauntingly the Irishman reminded the austere publisher of an editorial in his paper stating that England was bearing "with the patience of a mother" the "whimperings" of America over the British embargo. O'Leary recalled still another editorial comment in the same paper to the effect that Henry James became a better American citizen when he became a British subject.

German propagandists insinuated that certain shares of Marconi stock were the purchase price paid by Great Britain for the support of the gazette. They were undoubtedly wrong. Any attempt to influence the

publisher by financial inducements would be repudiated and resented with scorn. Men of integrity can be flattered. They can be subtly seduced and deceived. But they cannot be bought.

The publisher proved that he had purchased this stock for his own account and that the transaction, far from being profitable, entailed a substantial loss. No such proof was needed. No one unaffected by war psychosis seriously doubted the integrity of his motives. Nevertheless, those who have followed our revelations so far will find it difficult to escape the conclusion that the insidious wiles of the propagandists must now and then have caught the publisher and his editors unawares. There is not a nigger in every woodpile. But there is a propagandist in every press-room! Shall we call him a nigger in the woodpulp?

Newspapers were influenced to a certain extent by interpretations of international law emanating from eminent attorneys. Most of these attorneys were retained by Great Britain. This fact is no reflection on their sincerity nor does it invalidate their arguments. It is, nevertheless, worth recording. They were at all times assiduous propagandists for Great Britain. Their efforts to gain public recognition for the British contentions were aided by a host of attorneys employed by the manufacturers of war materials.

We see the names of these men appear again and again in various pro-Ally organizations which sprang up like mushrooms. Like similar societies with which Bernstorff and his associates had been linked, they were camouflaged as the American "this" and the American "that." The propagandists hid themselves behind the folds of the star-spangled banner.

The English, for various reasons enumerated, were better able to conceal the tell-tale horns. In most cases men who thought they were leading were themselves led. Sometimes they were led by the nose! The rank

and file, however honest, were dupes of alien influences. They shouted themselves hoarse for American rights. Their sincerity and their integrity were unquestionable. But there was always a propagandist around the corner.

It was unnecessary for Great Britain to finance such organizations. Mesmerized by British propaganda, we defrayed the expense ourselves. England was the immediate or remote mother of most of us. Our hands steered straight for the port of 100 per cent. Americanism, but the needle of our compass was deflected by the magnet of our affection for England. Even those who were conscious of this invisible pull did not realize the extent to which it deflected their judgment. They plundered its arsenals of logic to justify their bias. A thinking animal, man always attempts to rationalize his emotions.

Irrespective of rights and wrongs, some of us were instinctively pro-Ally, some—though not so many—spontaneously cheered for the Kaiser. Each group had no difficulty in persuading itself that the interests of the United States were intertwined with the cause which it had at heart. The pro-Allies were in the majority from the beginning.

“Washington,” said F. W. Wile, in 1916, “though it is officially neutral, is almost as pro-Ally at heart as London, Paris, Petrograd, Rome, or Brussels.” German propaganda, Mr. Wile maintained, except perhaps in the single case of the submarines which Mr. Schwab was prevented from shipping to the Allies, stormed the citadel of Washington in vain and raged in impotence.

Though Great Britain, through arbitrary action and procrastination, sometimes made the work of her defenders in the United States difficult, she showed herself, as a rule, a shrewd judge of American psychology. Her orders in council, transgressing our neutral rights,

were timed with uncanny skill. The declaration making cotton unconditional contraband was published on the very day on which the American press was in a state of great excitement over the sinking of the *Arabic*. As a result, Bernstorff dolefully laments, the wicked Germans got the headlines, and an economic measure that gravely affected American prosperity and American rights was dismissed by most editors with a paragraph or two.

IV

SHOCK TROOPS OF PROPAGANDA

The shock troops of Allied propaganda were invariably American volunteers. An Englishman, taking our German-Americans and our Irish-Americans to task, would have found himself at a disadvantage. Distinguished Americans like Owen Wister could assault both with impunity. Fired by his pro-British enthusiasm, Mr. Wister proposed to rewrite American history. "The movement to correct the school books of the United States," Mr. Wister said in a signed article for the *London Times*, "has been started and will go on."

A prominent American publisher with British affiliation, addressing the English-speaking Union in July, 1918, in the British capital, expressed the hope of seeing "not the Declaration of Independence, but the Declaration of Interdependence—an acknowledgment that the two peoples belong together."

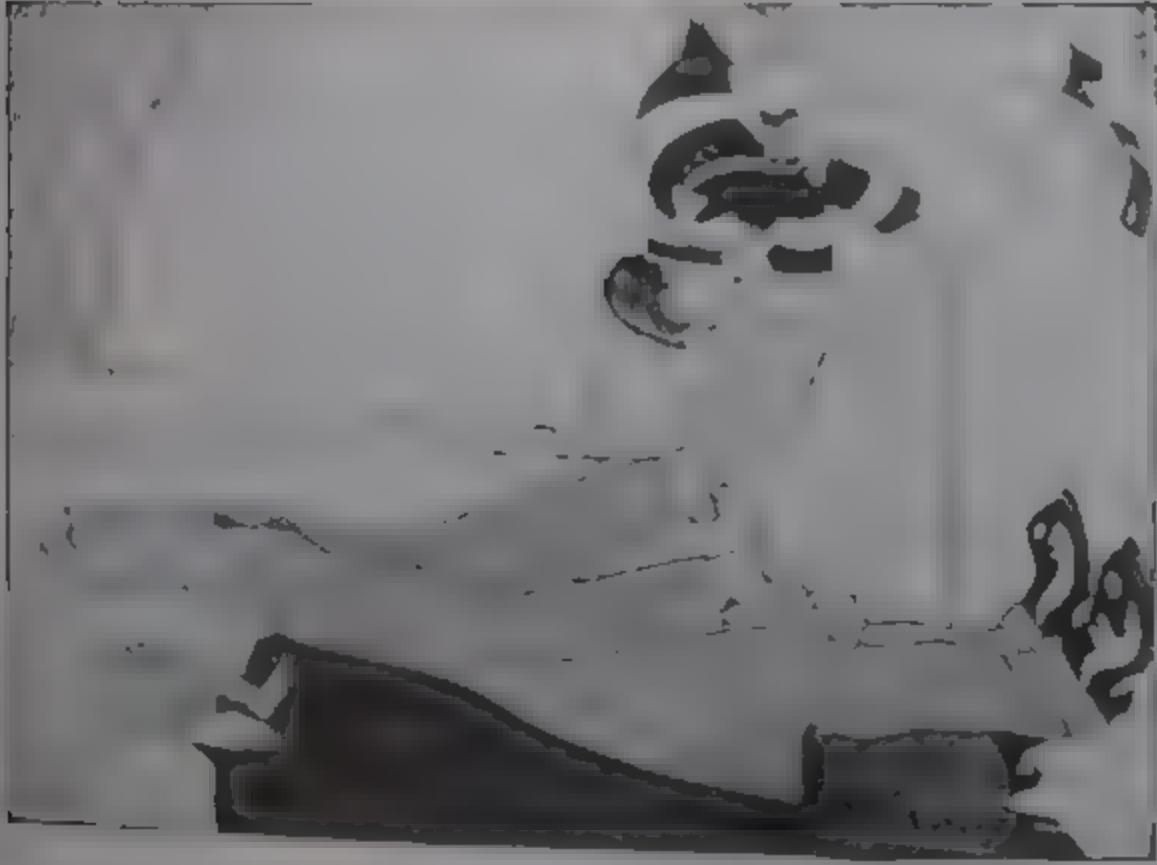
The Allies succeeded in gaining the powerful support of Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt was not susceptible to the flattery of politicians. But he was pleased by such courtesies as the visit of J. M. Barrie and A. E. W. Mason, bearing messages from Sir Edward Grey. The names of Americans beguiled by British propaganda, subtly disguised, were many. To record

all would fill a good-sized volume. It is unfair to single out individuals.

When Americans became restive, titled foreigners who said little in public whispered confidences into the charmed ears of their hosts and hostesses. A few German counts and Austrian princes were no match for the British lords and the French marquises who descended upon our shores and took possession of our social life. Equally solicitous of expressing their gratitude and of retaining our good will, England, France, Italy, and Belgium vied with one another to decorate distinguished Americans.

German and Irish spokesmen joyfully tell us that General Pershing, General Dickman, former Ambassador James W. Gerard, Oscar S. Straus, Colonel C. Cordier, Brigadier General C. B. Wheeler, Major General George W. Goethals, were knighted by King George. Lieutenant General Robert L. Bullard was decorated by the King of Belgium with the Order of Leopold. General Joseph H. Kuhn, formerly military attaché of the American Embassy in Berlin, was made a commander of the Legion of Honour. James M. Beck was made a Bencher, an honour never before bestowed upon an American. Mr. James Beck also received the Order of the Crown from Albert, King of the Belgians.

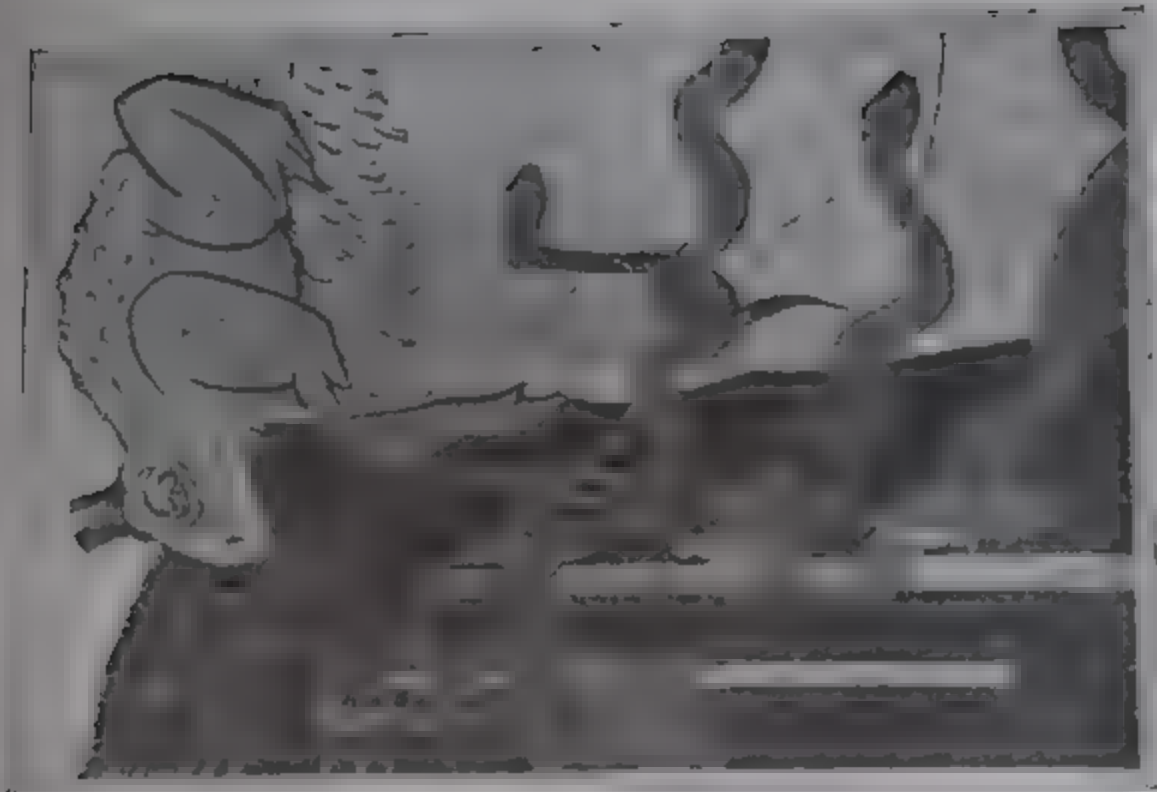
Alfred C. Bedford, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Lieutenant Laurence C. Welling of Mount Vernon received the order of Chevalier of the Crown of Belgium. The Legion of Honour Cross was conferred on Dr. William T. Manning, rector of Trinity Church, New York, Otto H. Kahn was appointed by the King of Italy, Commander of the Crown of Italy. J. M. Nye, chief special agent in charge of King Albert's train in the United States, was given the order of Chevalier of the Order of Leopold.



MR. WILSON'S DISAPPEARANCE

THE LATE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. WILSON

Count of Wilson. You, Mr. President, bear the
 burden of his memory. You guarantee the victory
 of right and freedom."
 Wilson (whispering to Wilson's car). "We can't let
 anything stand in the way of it."



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This by no means exhausts the list. Others made Knights Commanders by the King of England were: Brigadier General George Bell, Jr., Major General William Lassiter, Brigadier General John L. Hines and Brigadier General Charles H. Muir; Commanders of the Order of the Bath, Brigadier General Malin Craig and Brigadier General Harry A. Smith; Commanders of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Colonel John Montgomery, Colonel David H. Biddle, Colonel William P. Wooten, Colonel Horace Stebbins.

Admiral Benson received the Grand Cross of the Legion, while Admiral Mayo, and Rear Admirals Sims and Wilson were advanced to the grade of Grand Officer. Rear Admirals Gleaves, Usher, Long, Griffin, Welles, Taylor, and Earle became Commanders of the Legion. Dr. Henry van Dyke, former American Ambassador to the Netherlands, and Alexander J. Hemphill, were appointed Chevaliers of the French Legion of Honour. Major General William L. Keady was made Companion of the Order of the Bath, Brigadier General William Mitchell, Brigadier General George S. Diggs, Colonel Walter Kilmer and Major Harold Fowler were Companions of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Similar distinctions were conferred upon a number of American women. Elisabeth Marbury wears the medal of the Queen of Belgium. The wife of Colonel Robert Bacon, who fell in action, was invested with the insignia of the Order of British Knighthood on behalf of her husband. Mrs. James Hamilton Lewis received a French decoration. These honours were no doubt unsought and, in some cases, unwelcome. They were, nevertheless, a subtle weapon of propaganda.

Mr. Brisbane's prediction that these decorations would lead to the establishment of a "titled class" in America has not been fulfilled. We were saved by our sense of humour.

Before we entered the War we harshly condemned

the propagandists who infested our shores. Once we plunged into the fray ourselves, we knew that we could not wage war without propaganda. War without censorship and propaganda, to quote a witty American war correspondent, is conceivable only between Utopia and Elysium.

In order to circumvent the necessity of asking Congress to authorize expenditures for propaganda, the Bureau of Public Information was constituted by executive order and financed from an appropriation of one hundred million dollars granted to the President by Congress. The Creel bureau was unique in that, to a certain extent, it was self-supporting. According to Creel's own summary, his service cost the taxpayer \$4,912,553 and earned \$2,825,670.23—an astounding record.

Mr. Creel enlisted the aid of 18,000 newspapers, 11,000 national advertisers and advertising agencies, 10,000 chambers of commerce, 30,000 manufacturers' associations, 22,000 labour unions, 10,000 public libraries, 32,000 banks, 58,000 general stores, 3,500 Y.M.C.A. branches, 10,000 members of the Council of National Defence, 1,000 advertising clubs, 56,000 post offices, 55,000 station agents, 5,000 draft boards, 100,000 Red Cross organizations, and 12,000 manufacturers' agents.

Tours of French and Belgian soldiers and of veterans of Pershing's army, war exhibits, fairs, Inter-Allied exhibitions, and mass meetings, arranged by Creel, served to inflame our bellicose propensities. He summoned conferences of various groups to organize our undisciplined energies. Seventy-five thousand Four Minute Men, operating under the auspices of Creel's committee in 5,200 communities, made 755,190 speeches. The total number is more nearly 1,000,000. Mr. Creel ventures the guess that his Four Minute Men addressed in all approximately 400,000,000 people. The Four

Minute Men engaged in thirty-six separate campaigns. It is characteristic of the businesslike management which distinguished Mr. Creel's efforts that the name of the organization was copyrighted and registered as a trademark.

The Four Minute Men were aided in their campaign by theatres and moving-picture houses. A glass slide announced their official mission:

4 MINUTE MEN 4

(Copyright 1917, Trade-Mark)

.....

(Insert name of speaker)

will speak four minutes on a subject of national importance. He speaks under the authority of

THE COMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

GEORGE CREEL, Chairman
Washington, D. C.

Our racial minorities, the bone of contention of all propagandists, were Mr. Creel's first objectives. Collecting a staff of several hundred translators, mostly volunteers, the committee supplied the foreign-language press of America with War articles.

Friends, fair and false, of German Democracy were recruited among German-Americans. An attempt was made to enlist descendants of the old Forty-eighters, who had inherited from their progenitors an instinctive distrust of the German Empire. The great majority of German-Americans refused to have any dealings with this group, but it provided excellent camouflage for the propagandists.

V

CREEL SELLS THE WAR TO AMERICA

The Creel committee issued the *Official Bulletin*, a daily paper with a circulation of 100,000. The *Bulletin* printed all statements, pronouncements, and addresses by the President, every order and regulation by the heads of the great government departments. It reproduced the reports and regulations of the Food, Fuel, and Railroad administrations, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Alien Property Custodian, the War Labour Board, the Postmaster General as director general of the telephone, telegraph, and cable system, and of every independent agency of the Government. Important contracts, the text of new laws, the proceedings of the Supreme Court, Treasury statements, and a résumé of the proceedings of Congress appeared in its pages. The *Bulletin* printed every casualty in the United States Army at home and abroad, the name of every man taken prisoner, cited for bravery, or wounded in battle, and every communiqué of General Pershing.

The Committee on Public Information mobilized the moving picture industry. Both the Germans and the Allies had exploited the moving picture for propaganda. Their attempts fade into insignificance compared with America's efforts. Creel made the War pay its own way in the movies. *Pershing's Crusaders* took in more than \$181,000; *America's Answer*, \$185,000; *Under Four Flags*, \$63,000; the *Official War Review*, more than \$334,000. The total income of the committee's films was \$852,000. The films ranged from one to seven-reel features. They vividly covered America's message with American propaganda, both at home and beyond the sea. More on this subject appears on another page.

Shipping "educational" films to every country throughout the globe, we forced the world to swallow our propaganda. The permit to export films was based upon the stipulation that every shipment of entertainment films must contain at least 20 per cent. of educational matter. Not a foot of American entertainment film was sold to any exhibitor who refused to display the War pictures of the Committee on Public Information.

Finally, no American picture of any kind was permitted to be sold to any moving-picture house using an inch of German film. In a short time this method drove German films out of Sweden and Norway. But the Germans were still in control of the moving picture business in Switzerland and in Holland.

To meet this situation the committee asked the leading film producers to grant absolute control of all their output in those countries to a representative of the committee. This blow knocked out the Germans. In Peru, in Argentina, and in Brazil, the committee combated German propaganda with similar devices.

The committee distributed more than 200,000 stercopticon slides. It censored 700 pictures a day. Kendall Banning, former chief of the pictorial section of the General Staff, explains that the censor of military pictures must determine a great deal more than whether or not a photograph reveals information of value to the enemy. He must visualize in what way the enemy might make use of the picture for propaganda. An apparently harmless news photograph showing a gathering of women on the lower East Side of New York City to protest against the rise in the price of war bread was exploited in German newspapers as an illustration of American war riots. The reader will remember the uses to which General Charteris put the pictures which inspired the corpse factory myth. The chapter on Pictorial Propaganda and the illustrations scattered

throughout this book present additional evidence to sustain my thesis.

America did not subsidize press associations, but the telegraph and the wireless hummed with official news. A special mail and photograph service, supplementing these activities, soon grew to enormous proportions.

Sir Gilbert Parker, it will be remembered, had evolved a special bureau for writing letters, thereby establishing what may be termed the correspondence school of propaganda. The Germans countered with a similar move. Mr. Creel harnessed the Division of Women's War Work to answer letters from 50,000 bewildered mothers, sweethearts, and wives of soldiers. Various departments in Washington and many senators and congressmen intrusted all letters from feminine inquirers to the Creel correspondence department.

Painters, sculptors, designers, and cartoonists responded with enthusiasm to Mr. Creel's call to arms. No other class or profession, Mr. Creel insists, excelled them in the devotion that took no count of sacrifice and drudgery. Novelists, essayists, and publicists banded themselves together under Creel's leadership to prove that the fountain pen is mightier than the machine gun. In special feature articles, in song and story, they extolled the War and excoriated the Hun. Vigilantes, unable or unwilling to fight at the Front, carried on a guerrilla warfare at home against "pacifists" and "spies." The mere suspicion of being lukewarm in support of the War was sufficient to invite a visit from Vigilantes, Minute Men, and Defence Committees.

In some instances, Creel was compelled to apologize for the excess of enthusiasts on the noisy band wagon of patriotism. Such excesses are almost inevitable. Intrigue, hiding behind the Stars and Stripes sought public vengeance for private grievances. Some bankers misused the opportunity afforded by the Liberty

Bond Campaign to pry unduly into the private affairs of their customers. Men took it upon themselves to card-index their neighbours' goods, and to assess them arbitrarily with contributions to innumerable funds. At times the methods used smacked of extortion. If men refused to buy bonds, their houses were painted yellow, and they themselves were subjected to insult and violence. It was a mild form of terrorism.

The messianic spirit of Creel imparting itself to his minions, public meetings were held in an atmosphere of revivalism. Speakers modelled themselves upon the example of Billy Sunday. "Our mission was in a way similar to that of the itinerant soul savers," remarks E. T. Saintsbury in his *Memoirs of a Four Minute Man*. "We came to rescue our audiences from a Kaiser who, though no more potent than their old bugaboo Satan, was, according to our representation, a much more imminent danger."

Go-getters of patriotism with more faith than discretion upset the apple cart of good citizenship. Creel himself tells the story of a poor Bohemian woman, badgered by an impetuous Americanization committee.

"We are here," the spokesman of the Committee announced, "in the interests of Americanization."

"I'm sorry," the woman faltered, "but you'll have to come back next week."

"What! You mean that you have *no time* for our message! That you want to put *off* your entrance into *American life*?"

"No, no!" the terrified Bohemian housewife replied, in a panic. "We're *perfectly* willing to be Americanized. Why, we *never* turn *any* of them away. But there's nobody home but me. All the boys volunteered, my man's working on munitions, and all the rest are out selling Liberty Bonds. I don't want you to get mad, but *can't* you come back next week?"

VI

WAR PSYCHOSIS

Government sleuths and volunteer detectives combined to unearth slackers and spies. The Protective League, the Navy, the Department of Justice, the Army, received reports from 700,000 agents. The Department of Justice co-operated with the Protective League to prepare for eventualities which, happily, did not materialize. The Department was very agreeably surprised.

"We anticipated great disorders, and troubles of all kinds," remarked Mr. Bruce Bielaski, speaking for the Department of Justice. "I think it has been a remarkable record, not only from the standpoint of lack of disorder on the part of the alien Germans, but forbearance and patriotic respect for the law on the part of the American people throughout the country. There has not been any disorder, and there has not been a single German, I think, in this country killed because he was a German during the time we were at war. There was one man hung out in Illinois, but he would have been hung if he had been an Italian. I think it was entirely labour trouble." Mr. Bielaski is misinformed in this last instance. Nevertheless, his general conclusion is right.

Bielaski traces every known violation of law to paid agents or diplomats of the enemy, not to disloyalty on the part of naturalized citizens. Of 500,000 German enemy aliens and three or four million Austro-Hungarian enemy aliens, only six thousand were considered sufficiently dangerous to be detained under presidential warrants. Many of these were released after a brief internment. In vain several hundred thousand eavesdroppers and telephone tappers keyed their ears for the voice of treason!

UNITED STATES MAILS UNDER SINGULAR MANAGEMENT



BRITISH MAIL ROBBERY

THE UNITED STATES MAILS
From *The Continental Times* 1916

Facing p. 174

There were, in spite of Mr. Bielaski's disclaimer, a few cases of violence. An old German was killed on Park Avenue simply because he was a German. A mob collected in Mount Vernon to lynch Viereck. However, being clean shaven and slim, he escaped. The mob had expected a Teutonic looking figure with a moustache à la Hindenburg, not a debonair and youthful-looking American. Insurance companies refused to write insurance on the lives of German-American leaders and pacifists. Landlords refused to house them. Employees with German names had a hard time holding their jobs.

The Department of Justice did not encourage hysteria and terrorism. But local authorities in many communities attempted to secure the spotlight for themselves by staging spectacular "spy hunts." State attorneys could not always resist the temptation of grabbing space in the headlines by unsavoury methods. Senator James Reed accused Alfred Becker of abusing his authority as assistant attorney general of the State of New York to destroy his political foes and to secure political prestige.

Wincing under Reed's cross-examination before the United States Senate, Becker was compelled to admit that a former convict, parading under the name of Deputy Assistant Attorney General Johnson, was his most trusted assistant. Becker and his aids published a wild jumble of sworn and unsworn testimony, documentary evidence and hearsay, which, coming apparently from an official source, was taken seriously by the newspapers. In most instances no legal case whatsoever existed against the persons whose reputations were thus besmirched. But these irresponsible publications blasted careers and destroyed lifelong friendships.

A reign of terror prevailed in schools and universities with hardly a single exception. Many teachers with German names lost their positions. Uni-

versity presidents who were not sufficiently militant were compelled to resign. The children of Robert Marion La Follette were forced to see their father hung in effigy at the University of Wisconsin. I have this information from La Follette's own mouth. If such things happened to a Senator of the United States, may we not fear that many citizens in lesser walks of life were compelled to suffer even worse from *Schrecklichkeit*, American fashion?

The ferment of public opinion stirred up by propaganda reached a point where a mild admonition by Commissioner of Education Claxton, not to carry the war against the German language too far, aroused the indignation of the patriots. Defence councils, security leagues, defence societies, taught the American people to regard the German people with horror and aversion. The College of the City of New York adopted the policy of reducing by one point the credit value of each course in the Department of German.

"We are quite sure," writes a committee man in a letter to Mr. Creel, "that the German language now is a hated language and long will remain so. We believe that all efforts to condone its use for schools will be resented by the American people as we ourselves resent them."

Fourteen states passed laws forbidding the use of the German language in public schools. Two states, Iowa and Washington, under their state councils of defence, prohibited the use of the German language. The State of Iowa prohibited the use of any foreign language in any public meeting. Certain American educators, remarks Professor Lasswell in his dispassionate survey of American war propaganda, took advantage of the War to "gather steam" behind their pet projects of educational reform. "The baneful influence of the German common school model upon American education was held up for universal exe-

eration, and the War for these educators became a sort of crusade to make the world safe from the *Volkschule* and for the Junior High School."

H. L. Mencken, the editor of the *American Mercury*, has rendered a considerable service to every student of propaganda by collecting in three articles—"The Higher Learning Goes to War," by Charles Angoff; "The Historians Cut Loose," by C. Hartley Grattan; and "The Parsons and the War," by Granville Hicks—the verbal excesses of distinguished educators, historians, and clergymen which reflect the state of the American mind under the influence of war psychosis. I shall take the liberty of drawing upon this material here to illustrate the almost pathological conditions which propaganda may induce even in cultured minds.

Harvard professors branded Germany as the "wilful enemy" and the "scourge of the human race." Dr. William Roscoe Thayer, the biographer of Roosevelt, discovered that the German was a modern Hun, with all the abominable vices of his progenitors. Germany, Dr. Thayer declares in "Germany Versus Civilization," found Christianity an "alien religion." Wagner's music reflects "the unrestrained passions of war, lust and cunning that belong to an uncivilized race." The War "sprung as naturally from the heart and will as a vulture springs from its nest." "Will," Dr. Thayer asks, "American universities tolerate professors who have been slyly preaching sedition? It is far more likely that for a generation to come the very word German will be detested in the United States and that every German will have to show cause why he should not be regarded as a secret enemy of this country."

Professor Hart and Professor Lovejoy joined in the chorus of hate. Professor William H. Hobbs, of the University of Michigan, designates Germany as "the nation which had sold itself to the Devil." In

The World War and Its Consequences, published with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt, Professor Hobbs asks, "Can a nation which befouls or poisons wells, bombs hospitals and sinks relief ships, and turns over the women of a captured district to the pleasure of its soldiery; can such a nation be regenerated and made fit for the society of a civilized world, even through the chastening of crushing military defeat?" John R. Rathom, one-time editor of the *Providence Journal*, avowed instrument of British propaganda, is the source upon which Professor Hobbs relied for his information.

Professor Douglas W. Johnson of Columbia University advocated the utter destruction of Germany. "Ethically," remarks Dr. Louis Gray of the University of Nebraska, "the Prussian is a moral imbecile, an arrested development, a savage in civilization's garb, and even the garb he has stolen. Like the savage he is imitative, not inventive. Like the savage he is boastful and cunning. Among the nations he is precisely what the type of morally imbecile but intellectually educated criminal is among individuals. . . . The War is but an episode in the age-long struggle between good and evil, between God and the Devil."

Was the Master Propagandist right when he complained that our inoculation with propaganda had "taken" too well? Even Lissauer's "Song of Hate" seems innocuous compared with the frenzy of the professors!

Dr. Vernon L. Kellogg of Stanford University, growing lyrical in his Germanophobia, envisages the Germans as lepers:

Will it be any wonder if, after the War, the people of the world, when they recognize any human being as a German, will shrink aside so that they may not touch him as he passes, or stoop for stones to drive him from their path? This will be cruel to the few who are not diseased but it will be warranted precaution against the danger—most of the Germans in Germany, and some outside of it, have become unclean and

will have to walk the world as a marked people, avoided, despised, stoned. . . . Though it be war time or peace time, for a long time "German" and "made in Germany" are going to be equivalent, both as regards persons and things, as "unclean, unclean!"

Dr. Benjamin T. Brooks of the University of Pittsburgh, a Ph.D. of the University of Göttingen, discovers after our declaration of war that none of the "really great" discoveries in chemistry, and none of its fundamental laws and generalizations, have been made by Germans. A really clever German is what biologists call "a sport!" Professor Joseph Jastrow, Ph.D., of the University of Wisconsin, invents a new term, "mania teutonica," to explain the Germans, and later Stuart P. Sherman, then associated with the English Department of the University of Illinois, warned the country against "Prussianism streaming into Anglo-Saxon communities through the forty volumes of Carlyle!"

VII

THREE THOUSAND HISTORIANS SEE RED

After our declaration of war, 3,000 historians were at Creel's beck and call. Long before this, Dr. William Roscoe Thayer assailed American neutrality. "I," Thayer declares, "make no spurious claim to neutrality. Only a moral eunuch could be neutral in the sense implied by the malefic dictum of the President of the United States."

The man expressing sentiments so utterly at variance with historical objectivity was twice President of the American Historical Association. The material at our disposal is endless. Most of our historians accepted the diabolistic interpretation of Germany sponsored by Albert Bushnell Hart and the National Security League. Historians of this calibre, convinced

of Germany's exclusive guilt, helped to concoct much that is mischievous in the Peace Treaty and connived with the Allied plan to Balkanize Europe, thus, Mr. Grattan insists, setting back the clock of civilization by half a century.

American historians gleefully acclaimed Ambassador Morgenthau's story that a Crown Council, held in Potsdam on July 5, 1914, under the auspices of the Kaiser, deliberately plotted the War. The German Ambassador in Constantinople, the late Baron von Wangenheim, was cited by Mr. Morgenthau as a witness for his sensational account of the alleged imperial conference. The following is the gist of Morgenthau's story as told in his book :

The Kaiser presided and nearly all the important Ambassadors attended. Wangenheim himself was summoned to give assurance about Turkey and enlighten his associates generally on the situation in Constantinople, which was then regarded as almost the pivotal point in the impending war. In telling me who attended this conference Wangenheim used no names, though he specifically said that among them were—the facts are so important that I quote his exact words in the German he used, *die Haupter des Generalstabs und der Marine* " (the heads of the General Staff and of the Navy), by which I have assumed that he meant von Moltke and von Tirpitz. The great bankers, railroad directors and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparations as the army itself, also attended. Wangenheim told me that the Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn, " Are you ready for war ? " All replied yes except the financiers. They said that they must have two weeks to sell their loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Sarajevo tragedy as something that would inevitably lead to war. This conference, Wangenheim told me, took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It was decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finances for the coming war, and then the several members went quietly back to their work or started on vacations. The Kaiser went to Norway on his yacht, von Bethmann-Hollweg left for a vacation and Wangenheim returned to Constantinople.

Investigation revealed that the Crown Council was

a myth. Nevertheless a picture of it appears in a New York newspaper May 31, 1918! The Crown Council became the keystone of the edifice of Germany's guilt erected from straws of fact and fancy by pro-Ally historians.

Poor Morgenthau was assailed by all pro-Germans. His tale was branded as a malevolent hoax. However, recent evidence unearthed by the Kaiser and published in a letter to Mr. St. John Gaffney, completely exonerates Mr. Morgenthau. The Emperor's painstaking search for historical truth disclosed that the rumour of such a Crown Council went from mouth to mouth in Berlin. It was spread by the Germans themselves. Wangenheim, intentionally or unintentionally, created the impression in Mr. Morgenthau's mind that he was one of those summoned by the Kaiser on that historic occasion. Mr. Morgenthau with whom I discussed the story of the Crown Council at length, had no reason to doubt his veracity.

Mr. Morgenthau now concedes that there was no formal Crown Council on July 5, 1914, but he maintains that many of the people who conferred with the Emperor on July 5th were those who would have been at a Crown Council had one taken place. This the Kaiser denies in a message to me.*

A Crown Council is a very formal affair. Whatever conference may have taken place, the Kaiser convoked no Crown Council. All responsible historians have banished the legend of the Crown Council into the limbo of propaganda. Even Poincaré has been forced to surrender on this point. An important publication in Munich devoted an entire issue to the exposure of the legendary Crown Council. However, some American historians, unable to disentangle themselves from their own web, still insist that such a Council took place. I have before me a doctor's thesis, proving labor-

* See page 275.

iously, step by step, that Wangenheim's story coincides with the facts!

Wangenheim told an untruth. Death has sealed his lips. His motives, shrouded in mystery, may remain inscrutable for ever. Certain revelations by a close associate of the former ambassador made to me confidentially reveal a very human motive for Wangenheim's hasty trip to Berlin. His reason was purely personal and private although his influence in the foreign office enabled him to make the trip ostensibly on official business. Inasmuch as the disclosure in question would be likely to injure persons still living I shall for the present refrain from making them public. Morgenthau's theory, upon which Allied historians built up a damning case against Germany, is no longer tenable. His information was wrong. But the Germans were equally wrong in accusing him of misrepresentation. Propaganda blossoms most luxuriously in the swamp of misunderstanding and misinformation.

The historians gave the cue of a Satanic Germany, eager to hurl the civilized world into war, to the clergy.

The clergy outdid the historians in litanies of vituperation. "Shall this foul creature that is in the German saddle, with hoofs of fire, trample down all the sweet growth in the garden of God?" asks Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. "In a hundred years of history, where shall you find a record of soldiers, whether red, black or yellow, who were such sneaking, snivelling cowards?" The Germans, Dr. Hillis assures us with profound conviction, "slaughtered old men and matrons, mutilated captives in ways that can only be spoken of by men in whispers, violated little girls until they were dead, and committed atrocities, the worst of which cannot even be named."

"I'd hang every one, whether or not he be a candidate for mayor, who lifts his voice against America entering the War," exclaims the Rev. Dr. Henry van

Dyke. This statement was evoked by the candidature of the Socialist Morris Hillquit for mayor of New York. Dr. van Dyke describes the Kaiser as "the Werewolf of Potsdam." This is even more picturesque than the movie title in which the Kaiser is designated as "The Beast of Berlin."

Addressing a gathering of workers, the Rev. Dr. Charles Aubrey Eaton, of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church in New York, says :

Out on the Pacific Coast the men have what they call the Rail Committee. This is formed of workmen and is charged with seeing that every hand in the yards is 100 per cent. American and on the job eight hours a day, six days a week. In a yard at Seattle the Rail Committee has an iron pipe which is called the Liberty Rail. It is kept near the blacksmith's forge. When a workman utters a disloyal sentiment, fails to buy bonds or war-savings stamps, or in other words proves he is lukewarm, the Rail Committee waits on him. The Liberty Rail is heated at the forge and the disloyal workman is ridden about the yards on the hot rail. At one time, I was told, there were twelve men in a Seattle hospital recovering from Liberty Rail rides.

The Lutheran Church in Germany, fulminates Dr. Cadman, is "not the bride of Christ, but the paramour of Kaiserism." "To hell with the Kaiser!" declares the Rev. W. Bustard. Dr Lyman Abbott can see no peace in Europe until "international posses representing more than twenty civilized nations of Europe castigate the worst, most highly organized, and most efficient band of brigands the world has ever known." The Hun of to-day, Dr. Lyman Abbott insists, is identical in spirit and method with the Hun of the fifth century. "Fourteen centuries have not made any improvement in his character. Time is no cure for sin."

The Rev. Dr. Billy Sunday, invited to deliver the morning prayer in the House of Representatives, begins his prayer as follows: "Thou knowest, O Lord,

that no nation so infamous, vile, greedy, sensuous, bloodthirsty, ever disgraced the pages of history." The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst declares in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church that he would rather see his country under the domination of the Koran and its prophets than subject to the "cultivated barbarism" of Berlin. "German devilishness is instinct with the genius of Hell." "Made in Germany," avers Dr. Frederick F. Shannon, is synonymous with "made in Hell."

War hatred dominated most pulpits. Friedrich Schoenemann, the most profound German student of American propaganda, while singling out the Methodist Church for its intemperate language, considers the *Christian Science Monitor* in Boston the most dangerous centre of British propaganda in American church circles.

If we read to-day the heated pronunciamientos cited by Schoenemann and by Mr. Mencken's collaborators, it is difficult to resist a smile. The reader will not, I trust, seize upon these quotations as expressions of American sentiment. They are purely products of war psychosis and war propaganda.

If we were at war with England to-morrow, the same historians, the same schoolmasters, and the same preachers would condemn British Navalism with the same fiery eloquence with which they denounced German Militarism. Friends of British Democracy, hastily corralled by another Creel, would vociferate against British tyranny, and the third stanza of "The Star Spangled Banner" would be restored to respectability.

If we were at war with the Moon our professors would characterize the hapless inhabitants of the Moon as moral lepers. Thirty years' imprisonment would be the penalty for persons caught indulging in moonshine. During the World War sauerkraut became liberty cabbage. Similarly, the owners of our

Luna parks would scour the dictionaries for new names after our rupture of diplomatic relations with the Man in the Moon. The American ambassador attached to the Lunar capital would write a book to prove that the Man in the Moon was the Beast in the Moon. Our clergy would promptly identify the monster with the Beast of the Apocalypse!

Lunatics would be as unpopular as pacifists and pro-Germans. Sleepwalkers would be tarred and feathered by vigilantes, for being susceptible to the influence of the Moon. Harmless aged savants would be hanged in effigy by the women's auxiliary of some state defence council, if their collection of butterflies included one Luna moth (*Actias luna*). Friends of Lunar Democracy, financed by some patriotic ex-citizen of the Moon, would drive a wedge between the Lunar government and the Lunar people, while pamphlets shot into the Lunar region from a thousand American aeroplanes would proclaim to the universe that we were engaged in a war "to make the sky safe for democracy."

We would not merely make those statements. We would actually believe them, and would threaten to lynch any one who refused to subscribe to every iota of the creed formulated, for the time being, by our frenzy. There would be in this no conscious hypocrisy. It is impossible to conduct war without emotional disturbance. The object of the propagandist in war time is to make men see red. Even the highest-powered salesmen cannot sell a war to the people without appealing to their primitive instincts.

VIII

MYTH MAKERS

Creel, Uncle Sam's official propagandist, asserts the Committee on Public Information, "was never an

agency of censorship nor a machinery of concealment or repression." Such was, no doubt, his honest intention. But the drastic authority of the Postmaster General, permitting of no appeal, the wholesale suppression of news, the Espionage Act and the terrorism exercised by lawful and unlawful agencies of repression took the place of censorship in the United States.

No propagandist can afford to be always truthful.

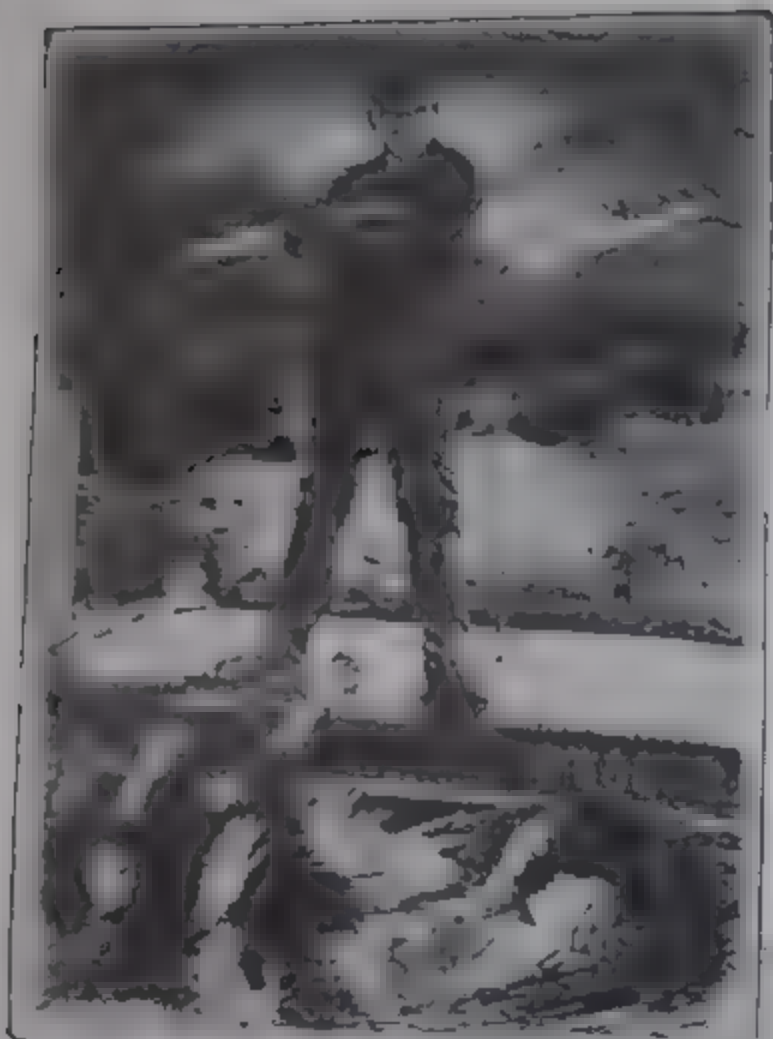
"Good Lord, what can you say? You can't tell them the truth. This morning we attacked on the whole front and on most of it were bloodily repulsed."

The speaker was an American Intelligence officer. The person to whom he addressed himself was Thomas M. Johnson, an accredited war correspondent.

The same conversation, with slight variations, probably took place on a dozen different fronts every day. And on every front victories were manufactured to order by military authorities. America was no exception. At the very outset of his activities, on July 4, 1917, Creel reported a mythical battle with German submarines. The Committee informed the cheering populace of the safe arrival of our first transports after two attacks by German submarines. These attacks existed only in the imagination. Mr. Creel claims that he was the victim of a hoax.

On February 21, 1918, the committee announced that the first American planes were *en route* for France. When this statement proved to be untruthful, the ensuing uproar compelled an investigation by Charles Evans Hughes. Mr. Hughes ascertained that the Committee had been deceived by a misleading statement with respect to the progress of aircraft production.

Shortly after this incident, the Committee distributed photographs of airplane production artfully designed to induce the illusion that we had reached the stage of mass production in battle planes. Mr. Creel attributes this fake to the misguided enthusiasm of a young



HANNAH
IN "LUNCH"

At least they only
drown your women
and children

Hannah. She is a poor
thing. To be out to
work the day long in
the sun, it is a very bad
thing. I saw nothing bet-
ter than this.

She is a poor thing.
To be out to work the
day long in the sun, it
is a very bad thing. I
saw nothing better than
this. She is a poor thing.
To be out to work the
day long in the sun, it
is a very bad thing. I
saw nothing better than
this.

For the "N. Y. Tribune"



STARRETT IN "N. Y. TRIBUNE"

subordinate. Still later, the Committee fathered the fable that Secretary Baker had seen one thousand American airplanes in France. Scandals of this type seem to be inseparable from the abnormal economic conditions engendered by every war. The war god thrives on terror and deceit.

The books by a host of distinguished scholars, issued in all sincerity under the auspices of Mr. Creel, the National Security League, and other agencies, were filled with the same claptrap as the propaganda of all other countries. Even official despatches from the front were not always reliable. They became more imaginative as the war went on, culminating in the mythical "capture" of Sedan. The American people did not learn until January 26, 1929, through Admiral Magruder, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, that a German submarine sank the American flagship San Diego in July, 1918, forty-five miles east of Sandy Hook. The original announcement attributed the mishap to a mine!

The heated imagination of the propagandist at times endangered the morale at home and at the front by frightening the feminine relatives of our doughboys almost out of their wits. Now and then, when the propagandists overshot their mark, the military authorities launched a denial. In at least one instance General Pershing himself intervened. In October, 1918, the War Department authorized the publication of the following message from the Commander-in-Chief:

A St. Louis (Missouri) paper recently received here states that a sergeant, one of fifty men sent back in connection with the Liberty Loan campaign, is making speeches in which he states:

"The Germans give poisoned candy to the children to eat and hand-grenades for them to play with. They show glee at the children's dying writhings and laugh aloud when the grenades explode. I saw one American boy, about seventeen years old, who had been captured by the Germans, come back to our trenches. He had cotton in and about his ears. I asked some one what the cotton was for.

" 'The Germans cut off his ears and sent him back to tell us they want to fight men,' was the answer. 'They feed Americans on tuberculosis germs.' "

As there is no foundation whatever in fact for such statements, based on any experience we have had, I recommend that this sergeant, if the statements quoted above were made by him, be immediately returned for duty and that the statements be contradicted.

PERSHING.

The stories of submarine atrocities remained uncontradicted until seven years after the War. Then Admiral Sims, the greatest American authority on submarine warfare, unbosomed himself in *The New York Tribune* of the following statements :

There exists no authentic report of cruelties ever having been committed by the commander or the crew of a German submarine.

The press reports about cruelties were only meant for propaganda purposes.

The Sims denial came too late to affect public opinion. It is doubtful if it would have calmed our agitation by coming in the midst of the War, for Pershing's denial made no impression. Propaganda and war hysteria had induced a pathological state which was no longer susceptible to common sense. The Committee on Public Information was attacked by Senator Poindexter on the floor of the Senate for issuing a statement branding as false the story that an American surgeon had been crucified by the Germans. The attitude of Senator Poindexter in this matter was characteristic of the mental state of a large portion of the community under the influence of war psychosis.

IX

A RESISTLESS OFFENSIVE

While our doughboys filled the thinning ranks of the Allies in France, American propaganda invaded

both neutral and hostile countries. It attacked the enemy at the front and behind the line. Mr. James Kerney, missionary of American propaganda in France, established close relations with La Maison de la Presse, French propaganda headquarters, and with the editors of the great Paris dailies. Writers and editors of French periodicals were taken to the American Front, and soon the French periodicals blossomed out with glowing accounts of American accomplishments on land and sea. French newspapers were filled with American news.

Mr. Kerney "mobilized" French universities for America. He relayed the wireless service of the Committee to American Headquarters and to the various American bases in France. The facilities of the Committee were placed at the disposal of Paris editions of *The London Daily Mail*, *The New York Herald*, *The Chicago Tribune*, and *The Stars and Stripes*, the newspaper published under the auspices of the A.E.F. A smooth-running machinery, well oiled by Creel with American money, relayed our wireless service to Bern, Rome, Madrid and Lisbon.

Mr. James Keeley, Captain Walter Lippmann, Captain Heber Blankenhorn, Lieutenant Charles Merz, and Lieutenant Ludlow Griscom attended a great Inter-Allied Propaganda Conference at Crewe House. Mr. Keeley announced that he and his associates had come to the conference as pupils, with an earnest desire to learn so that they might do their part whole-heartedly.

In all propaganda efforts America did more than her share. After the disaster to the Italian Army at Caporetto, Uncle Sam rallied the war spirit through his Italian citizens. Wounded Americans of Italian birth were sent to Italy for convalescence. These men, Creel insists, turned out to be our best propagandists. Messages from Enrico Caruso and other eminent Italians to their compatriots stimulated the Italian morale. Every mail, every cable, was loaded with descriptions

of American war preparations. As a result, the Italian defensive stiffened until it became, in Mr. Creel's words, a resistless offensive. Similar methods were employed by Creel to revive the flagging war spirit of Russia and of France.

The Inter-Allied propaganda committee published newspapers and pamphlets in many tongues. The Germans issued French and Italian newspapers to disseminate anti-Ally and anti-American propaganda. But their efforts were puny compared with the mass production of propaganda encouraged by Creel and Northcliffe. Special editions of Swiss newspapers camouflaged as pro-German were distributed within enemy lines. The articles were artfully calculated to invite unfavourable comparisons with conditions in Germany. A fake trench newspaper, including in its title decoration a head of the Kaiser, cleverly concealed pro-Ally and pro-American propaganda. Pamphlets cunningly adapted to appeal to the religious sentiments of German soldiers portrayed Germany's approaching military defeat as a just retribution for the crimes of the German Government. Thus the German revolution was prepared by Northcliffe and Creel.

The Committee on Public Information made strenuous efforts to counteract German propaganda in South America, in Mexico, and in Spain. Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela were unfriendly to the United States. Argentina was pro-German. Partly through local agents, partly through infiltration from German propaganda headquarters in Spain, German propaganda had sown distrust of the United States in South and Central America. Economic measures and diplomatic pressure were called into play with uncanny skill to reinforce our propaganda.

Spain was the main battle ground of the two propagandas. Life in Madrid was made picturesque by a regular spy exchange in an out-of-the-way café, where

the spies of both sides met to interchange their wares ! Creel established a cable service between New York and Madrid. In a short time, eye-witnesses reported an astonishing progress of the Wilson cult in Spain.

Soon American propaganda assumed world-wide proportions. Creel made impressive arrangements to give world-wide publicity to the addresses of President Wilson. Every presidential speech was translated, within forty-eight hours, into every civilized language. Newspaper men from Spain, Holland, Scandinavia, and South America visited the front as guests of the American Government. Creel courted the editors of Mexico with flattering attentions. A newspaper man loaned to Mr. Creel by the Associated Press installed a daily news service for China, Japan, Korea, and some parts of India. A special version was prepared for Oriental countries. Later, a direct wireless service was established at Vladivostok, Harbin, Irkutsk, and Omsk. Soon the whole world parroted Woodrow Wilson.

Every possible contraption was adopted to carry American propaganda into the enemy's country by direct and indirect methods. Creel's agents worked industriously with the Russians to foment trouble in Germany. Colonel House suggested to President Wilson an open debate on war aims between *The New York World* and a liberal German newspaper like the *Tageblatt* of Berlin. A German refusal, House felt, would weaken the loyalty of the German liberals. Its acceptance would embarrass Germany by compelling her to restate her war aims. The challenge to this debate was never issued because the President suspected that a frank discussion of war aims would embarrass the Allies more than the Germans. Our real peace terms, the President said, those upon which we should undoubtedly insist, were not then acceptable to either France or Italy (leaving Great Britain for the moment out of consideration). This passage is printed by Colonel House without

quotation marks, but with clear implication that the language is Wilson's.

It seemed more feasible to break the morale of the Germans by reiterating the President's speeches without compelling the Allies to state their own secret war aims. Northcliffe vied with Creel in sending, through every conceivable channel, countless thousands of President Wilson's speeches into Germany and Austria-Hungary. Wilson's message to the Austro-Hungarian people, which, in the opinion of Creel, had the force of a military offensive, was smuggled into the Dual Monarchy by Mrs. Whitehouse. Crossing the frontier herself, this intrepid lady propagandist, placed the message in the "proper channels" for dissemination. Thus, an enormous amount of American propaganda filtered into Germany. Mr. Creel, too, missed no trick to foment the disintegration and the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, that Babel of many tongues.

But this was not sufficient. Propaganda headquarters in Paris loaded mortar guns with paper bullets and equipped airplanes with tons of pamphlets. A French hand grenade carried leaflets 600 feet in a favourable wind. A large shell made for the same purpose could travel four or five miles into the enemy lines. The British shot leaflets from a six-inch gun that carried ten or twelve miles. The Italians used rockets carrying forty or fifty pamphlets over the Front. The English devised a standard propaganda balloon manufactured at the rate of 2,000 a week. This balloon was made of paper cut in longitudinal panels with a neck of oiled silk. Its circumference was twenty feet and its height, inflated, was eight feet. Each of these balloons carried 500 to 1,000 leaflets. Its lifting power was sufficient to take them to a height of five or six thousand feet.

The unit for distribution of balloon propaganda consisted of two motor lorries which took the men, the hydrogen cylinders and the load of printed matter

to a sheltered position selected every morning by the officer in charge, in consultation with meteorological experts. The load of the balloon depended upon the direction of the wind. If it were blowing toward Belgium it was entrusted with copies of *Le Courier de l'Air*. If the wind was blowing toward Germany, it carried leaflets for the education of the enemy. This form of warfare was more effective than poison gas.

All the Allies employed paper balloons filled with coal gas. The balloons remained in the air for twenty-four hours and could make 600 miles in a moderate wind. At the time of the Armistice American ingenuity perfected a new type of balloon with a cruising radius of 500 miles with a tin container capable of holding 10,000 sheets, to carry American propaganda into the heart of Germany. If the War had lasted longer this balloon would have supplanted the more primitive paper balloons of the Allies.

Lord Northcliffe's enemy propaganda department dropped 5,360,000 leaflets over the German front in October, 1918. The exact number of American leaflets is not known. But the combined bombardment undermined the confidence of the Germans. One German writer referred to these leaflets as "English poison raining down from God's clear sky." Hindenburg could devise no method to counteract this propaganda. "This," the Field Marshal remarks in his autobiography, "was a new weapon, or rather a weapon which had never been employed on such a scale and so ruthlessly in the past."

X

WOODROW WILSON THE PROPAGANDIST

President Wilson's speech furnished the ammunition of all propaganda guns and propaganda bal-

loons. Various devices were used to compel the German press to print the President's speeches assuring the Germans that the Allies did not desire their political or economic annihilation. Mr. Wilson hinted strongly at the possibility of a reconciliation with a liberalized Germany, and disavowed the threats made in Allied quarters of an economic war against Germany after the peace, while Mr. Wells toyed with such phrases as "the League of Free Nations."

The eloquence of Woodrow Wilson was the most powerful battering ram of Allied and American propaganda against the Germans. "The President," writes Colonel House to Lord Bryce, "is trying to get the truth into Germany, in order to wage war against the Prussian autocracy from within as well as from without." Wilson impressed the liberals of all countries who recoiled from the horrors of war, with the idea that this war was "a necessary, although a terrible undertaking." This, Colonel House contends, was one of the greatest services rendered to the Allied cause by President Wilson.

There is no doubt, Colonel House adds, that there would have been more trouble among the so-called pacifists had it not been for the Wilson influence. "The vital effect of his speeches and propaganda in Germany," Wilson's *alter ego* goes on to say, "have been fully recognized by German writers, and culminated in the German request for an armistice based on the Fourteen Points." "If," remarks Professor Lasswell, "the great generalissimo on the military front was Foch, the great generalissimo on the propaganda front was Wilson."

There is little doubt that Wilson's ammunition was derived largely from British sources. Both Napoleon I and the German philosopher, Kant, played with the idea of a League of Nations, but it was England which whispered the suggestion to Woodrow Wilson

during the World War. And it was Balfour's secretary, Sir Eric Drummond, who drew up the memorandum urging Wilson to differentiate between the German Government and the German people. "The possibilities of this policy," remarks Charles Seymour in *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, "were perceived by Lord Northcliffe, who, in the following spring, organized at Crewe House the most effective scheme of propaganda known to modern history. Ceaselessly he poured into Germany the idea that unless the people repudiated the old régime their own ruin would be linked with that of the Hohenzollerns. It acted as a subtle corrosive which ultimately ate away the German will to victory."

General Ludendorff admits the contention of Seymour and House. The Master Strategist of the Germans confesses himself beaten by propaganda :

The enemy's propaganda attacked us by transmitting reports and print from the neutral States on our frontier, especially Holland and Switzerland. It assailed us in the same way from Austria, and finally in our own country by using the air. It did this with such method and on such a scale that many people were no longer able to distinguish their own impressions from what the enemy propaganda had told them.

This propaganda was all the more effective in our case as we had to rely, not on the numbers, but on the quality of our battalions in prosecuting the War. The importance of numbers in war is incontestable. Without soldiers there can be no war. But numbers count only according to the spirit which animates them.

As it is in the life of peoples, so it is also on the battlefield. We had fought against the world, and could continue to do so with good conscience so long as we were spiritually ready to endure the burden of war.

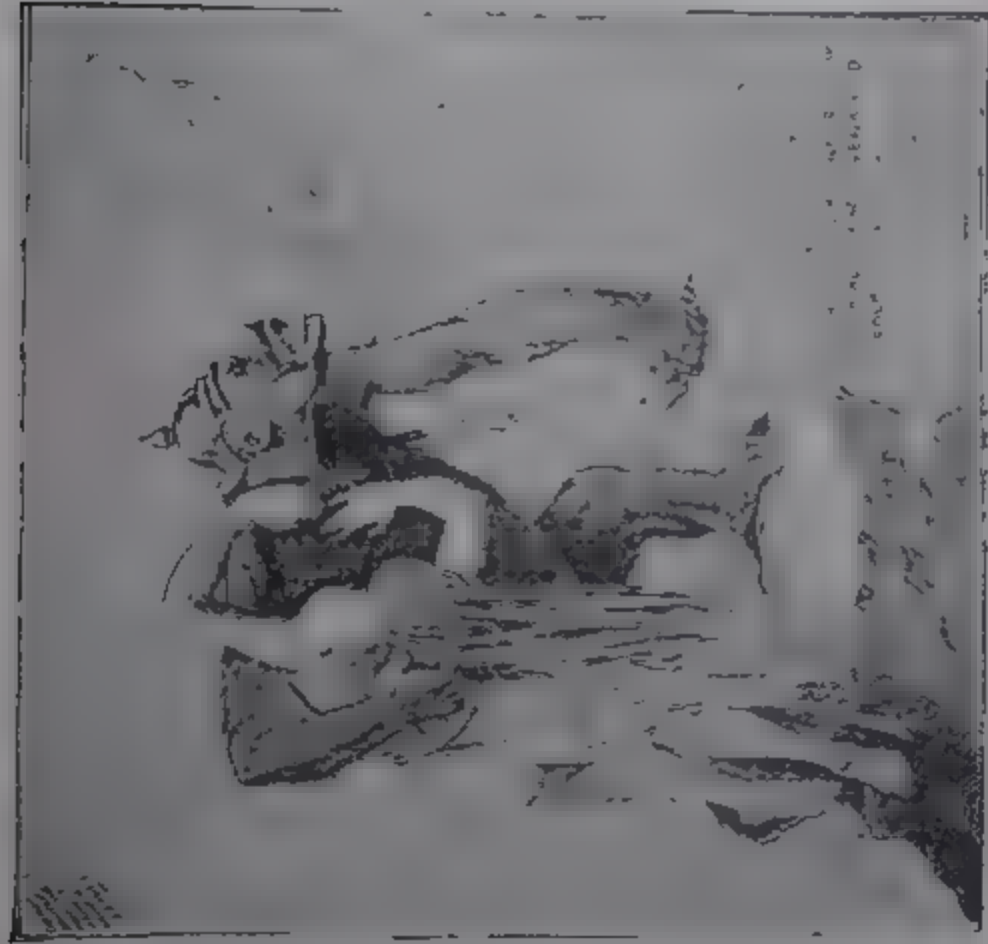
So long as we were this, we had hope of victory and refused to bow to the enemy's determination to annihilate us. But with the disappearance of our moral readiness to fight everything changed completely. We no longer battled to the last drop of our blood. Many Germans were no longer willing to die for their country.

Paradoxically enough, the effect of the constant bombardment by propaganda was scarcely less fatal to the Allies than to the Germans. Unable to check the anti-German resentment of their constituents, the Big Four were caught at Versailles in the trap of their own propaganda. Colonel House with dispassionate clarity, offers testimony to this effect. More insatiable than the Tiger, public opinion in France condemned Clemenceau for his moderation. If he had yielded on the occupation of the Rhineland he would have been hurled from power and replaced by a more stubborn premier.

Lloyd George, we learn from House, admitted that the public estimate of Germany's capacity to pay was absurd, but did not care or dare to tell the electorate. Similarly, Orlando would have accepted more moderate terms on the Adriatic question, but political forces in Italy compelled him to be obdurate in his demands. We can see from the Colonel's stupendous diary that the prime ministers were far from exercising supreme power. Inflaming popular emotion during the War, they had created a Frankenstein monster. In this monster's grasp they were helpless!

All history presents no more tragic figure than Woodrow Wilson. America, 3,000 miles from the battle line, was saturated with propaganda. President Wilson (Colonel House, the most reliable historian of the period, jots down in one of his notes) did not realize until late in September, 1918, the nearly unanimous sentiment in the United States against anything but unconditional surrender.

The President did not, to quote the Colonel's own phrase, realize how "war-mad" our people had become. After being fed on the reminiscences of Morgenthau and Gerard, both distorted by war psychosis, and after constant injections of official and unofficial venom, it was impossible to wage war in the detached

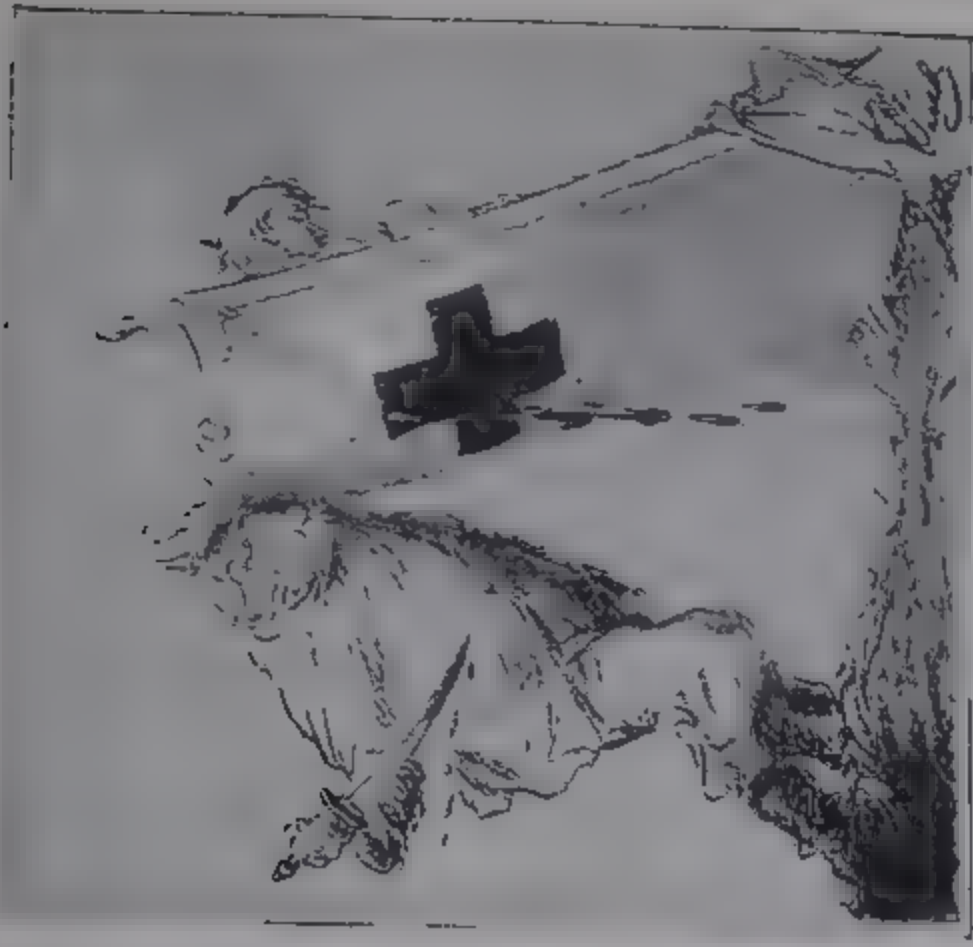


IRELAND IN "COLUMBUS DISPATCH"

HOW CAN THE WORLD MAKE PEACE WITH
'THIS THING?'

Facing p. 196

WE
SUCCEMBED
TO THIS!
WILL IT
TEACH US
TO BE ON
OUR GUARD
AGAINST
SIMILAR
ASSAULTS
UPON OUR
INFIL-
GENCE
IN THE
FUTURE?



J H CASSEL IN THE "N Y EVE WORLD"

STABBED IN THE BACK!

fashion envisaged by Mr. Wilson. This war madness, fanned still further by Allied intrigues, thwarted Woodrow Wilson at the Peace Conference.

No longer sure of the support of the American people, President Wilson was compelled to discard his Fourteen Points, one by one. The propagandists, seizing upon his words, had turned his noble purpose into a *ruse de guerre* to inveigle the enemy into surrender. In the state of mind existing at home and abroad a sane peace was no longer possible. It may be said that American propaganda was not only successful but too successful. Woodrow Wilson the propagandist defeated Woodrow Wilson the statesman.

CHAPTER FIVE

IRISH WIT AND GALLIC CANDOUR

I

THE SECRET WILL OF CECIL RHODES

IRISH propaganda in the United States was directed primarily against Great Britain. It was carried on almost without funds, except voluntary contributions from individual sympathizers and from such organizations as the Friends of Irish Freedom, the Protestant Friends of Ireland and the Clan-na-Gael. Their long battle "agin" the government had taught the Irish the tricks of their opponents. It also taught them a few tricks of their own.

Irish propaganda skilfully exploited a letter by the British Minister to Norway, M. de C. Findlay, offering a reward to the valet of Sir Roger Casement for his master, dead or alive. Findlay was represented as an assassin, his dagger poised over the Irishman's heart. British "atrocities" in Ireland were played up in the Irish press. But hardly an echo of these accusations appeared elsewhere except in the German language publications. The Irish, like the British and the Germans, emphasized the American character of their propaganda. The Irish propagandist disguised himself as Uncle Sam, quite oblivious of the fact that his green coat showed plainly under the Stars and Stripes.

The fundamental gospel of Irish propaganda enunciates the intention of Great Britain "to reclaim" the United States as a British colony. Lord Northcliffe was, and still is, represented in all Irish race publications as the agent of a posthumous conspiracy between Andrew Carnegie and Cecil Rhodes to restore the lost colony to the British crown. Certain statements in the published works of Carnegie and the famous draft of the will of Cecil Rhodes, dated September 19, 1887, are the basis of this hypothesis. Every Irish propagandist quotes a passage from the will devising a fund "to and for the establishment, promotion, and development of a secret society, the true aim of which and object whereof, shall be the extension of British rule throughout the world . . . and especially . . . the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire."

The O'Learys, the Cohalans, the Gaffneys, the John Devoys, the Shaemas O'Sheal, etc., tell us that this will may be found in Volume I, Chapter VI, of the *Life of the Right Honourable Cecil Rhodes*, by Sir Lewis Michell, and on page 50 of *Cecil Rhodes*, an authoritative biography by Basil Williams. They do not tell us that it was never consummated. A similar fate was suffered by other wills drawn with the same intention. However, it is significant as a revelation of the drift of the mind of the great Empire Builder.

Fourteen years later, in a letter to William T. Stead, Rhodes welcomes the possibility of a "Federal Parliament holding its sessions five years at Washington and five years at London." Irish propagandists allege that the will of Cecil Rhodes is working through various secret channels in accordance with his avowed intention. The exchange of scholars under the Rhodes plan fans their smouldering suspicion.

In the case of Carnegie the propagandists buttress

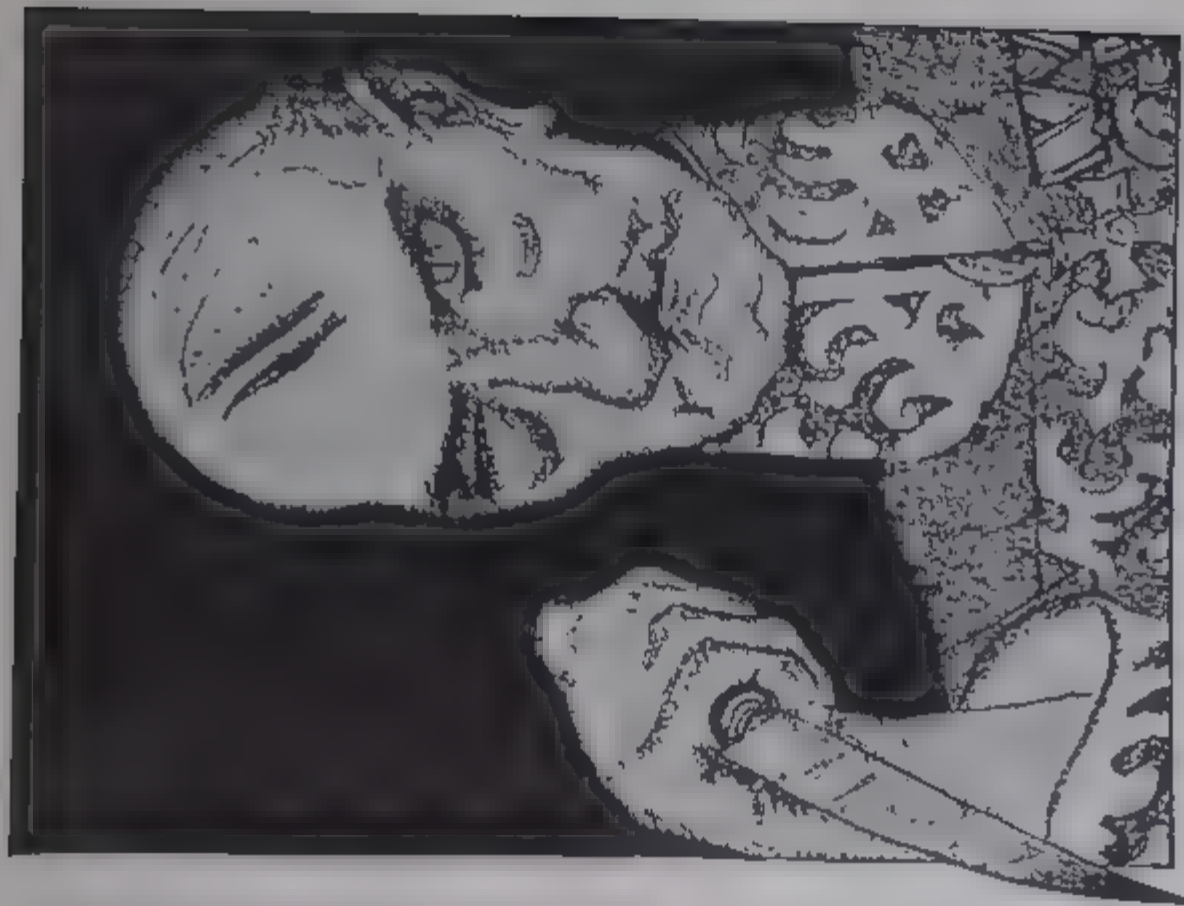
their positions by citing the Iron Master's article in the *North American Review* (1893) predicting the eventual reunion of England and America. Carnegie's proposals are sufficiently detailed to indicate that the capitals of the new empire would be London and Ottawa. "Let men say what they will," Carnegie declares, "I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely it is one morning to rise, shine upon and greet again the Reunited States, the British American Union."

Anti-British writers profess to see, in the Carnegie Institute and in various organizations for international peace financed by Carnegie, instruments of a systematic propaganda to achieve the end conceived by the Laird of Skibo. The famous Guildhall speech of Admiral Sims and various incautious remarks of Professor Roland B. Usher intensify their distrust. Certain German writers, including the Kaiser, basing their conclusions upon the data thus marshalled by the Irish, suspect a secret alliance in the form of a "gentleman's agreement" between England and the United States, dating from the Spanish-American War.

The campaign of the Irish irreconcilables against the English was temporarily lulled when America entered the War. If, formerly, it was eminently proper to let the eagle scream on every occasion, it now became patriotic to forget the American Revolution and to omit, except among Irish and German-American stalwarts, the third stanza of "The Star-Spangled Banner." After the Armistice the battle was renewed with increased vigour. The League of Nations and the World Court were resented as British encroachments upon the sovereignty of the United States. Irish propaganda reached its zenith in the battle against the League. The Irish were very clever in utilizing paper and skeleton organizations.



DAGGERS AND BAYONETS



1 LK

"I AM NOT AN ORDINARY CUTTHROAT. I AM A
BRITISH DIPLOMAT."

A German Irish view of M. D. C. Fendley, the British
minister to Norway during the War, said to have offered
a reward of \$25,000 for the apprehension, living or dead,
of the Irish patriot, Sir Roger Casement, to Sir Roger's
valet.

THE ROAD TO GLORY

A sketch distributed in enormous quantities among neu-
trals. No German soldier, Avenarius suggests iron-
ically, would be so wasteful of war material as to leave
behind his bayonet in the body of a dead child.

II

MALONEY HAS HIS JOKE

The Irish knew what went on in the British camp, but the Irish press frequently spoiled their case by exaggeration. Moreover, they did not have a large secret service apparatus to track down their suspicions and to wrest the truth from reluctant witnesses. But they were rarely caught napping. The story of Irish propaganda is a valuable foil to the story of British propaganda. In spite of its occasional effervescence, it furnishes many clues. The case of Irish against British propaganda in the United States is summed up amusingly in *The Reconquest of America*, published in 1919. In the course of the Shearer investigation, in 1929, this pamphlet emerged once more from obscurity as "the sinister 'secret document' submitted to the Senate's committee to prove 'the secret workings of pro-British propagandists in this country.'"

An introductory note shrewdly suggests that the fake document is an unsigned carbon copy of a report submitted by Sir William Wiseman to the Right Honourable David Lloyd George. Sir Gilbert Parker, Sir Geoffrey Butler, Sir Arthur Willert, and other British propaganda chiefs figure prominently in its pages. My investigation of the authorship of the pamphlet led me to the door of an Irish physician, Dr. William J. A. Maloney. To-day his authorship is no longer a secret.

Maloney's pamphlet points out that "Anglicization" of Americans has been reduced from \$32.02 to \$0.53 per "colonist." The original cost, we are told, included "titles and court presentations at market prices." The entry of America into the War, the Irish propagandist posing as Sir William Wiseman, goes on to say, "enabled us to Americanize our campaign and to brand as traitors to the United States those who were disaffected toward

us. None considered himself safe unless bedecked with flags, buttons, shields and feathers, which we sold to professing patriots to ward off suspicion from them. None dared to eat before we, their Allies, had had our fill."

The "report" shifts to education.

"For many years," the writer sarcastically remarks, "we (the Allies) had trained the inhabitants to view native culture with disdain and distrust. Real culture was produced only on the other side. Americans such as Henry James, Whistler, Sargent and Edwin Abbey were conceded domestic recognition only after they had received our imprimatur. Before the War we had created a considerable demand for British born and educated men to fill positions of intellectual control here. During the War we added thousands to the number of these men by substituting them for hostile natives, teachers, preachers and lecturers. . . . We are now nearing the point where, through their concerted efforts, we shall control from the cradle to the grave whatever mind this nation possesses.

"German," the Irish double of Sir William Wiseman cunningly adds, "we have managed to bar from so many schools that we need no longer fear either intellectual or commercial competition from Germany in America, or commercial competition from this country in Germany. It is considered near treason to use German silver, to hear German music or to have German measles. . . . And we are rewriting the school history books in order to make King George the Third, of glorious memory, a German king."

"We are replacing with the song 'America' the scurrilous 'Star-Spangled Banner,' which, after expurgating, we socially ostracised. 'America,' which has the same air as 'God Save the King,' is usually played and not sung; so, in effect, we are conferring on this colony the Imperial anthem."

The hoax report notes the activities of pro-British clubs and pro-British publishers and pro-British newspapers. "Needless to say, we employ none but Englishmen as American correspondents of our British dailies, so that American news is presented to this people only in its proper, its English, aspect."

The Irish satirist, posing as Sir William Wiseman, regrets that British propaganda mobilized American emotions too thoroughly. "Although the War is over, there are creatures here who refuse to allow their sentiments to be demobilized and are growing hostile because we desire to resume trade relations with Germany. I am meeting this difficulty by diverting their feelings to another hate channel." This remark coincides almost literally with a statement made to me by the master of British propaganda shortly after the War.

Discussing international trade, Maloney, laughing up his sleeve, points out how shrewdly England placed upon American officials "the onus of the various South American blacklists we drew up, and thus created an antipathy to the American trader which further circumscribes his field."

The argument for the cancellation of war debts is stated thus :

We are conducting a vigorous campaign for the cancellation of the war debt on the grounds : (a) that we fought America's fight for her for two years, while she was prospering in cowardice ; and (b) that at least the material burdens should be distributed justly if the world is to be made safe for democracy.

Synchronously with this agitation, we are agitating for further loans of American money to rebuild our markets in Europe. There is no possibility of these two agitations endangering their mutual success. For we have repeatedly proved beyond question that the American mind cannot synchronously fix and correlate facts. Two cognate items in the newspaper mean to the American public two unrelated independent statements to be judged each on its merits. Hence, we are able in a cloud of candour to state the merit of the loan--viz., that unless the money be lent to us we

cannot pay the interest on it. In these agitations, we are receiving valuable, if not wholly disinterested, aid from our financial auxiliaries and fiscal agents.

In connection with a trip to the United States which the Prince of Wales contemplated at that time, the putative author of the pamphlet suggests that the heir to the British throne should have a brilliant entourage of "our American born nobility":

During the visit special courtesies should be shown to the presidents and professors whom I have listed in Appendix 23. I would also suggest that a complete programme of special favours be arranged for the parsons, editors and newspaper proprietors in Appendixes 20 and 26. A new order might be created to reward the celebrants of the visit, the Royal Order of the Pilgrims. It should have three degrees, Knights Grand Cross, Knights Bachelor, and Commanders.

With respect to the two knighted classes, we could, of course, reassure the suspicious by Mr. A. Maurice Low's patent device, first described in the *New York Times*, August 15, 1918 (Appendix 44) which safeguards the democracy of the knighted by the withholding of the accolade.

Would you, however, kindly give instructions to the publishers of *Whitaker's Almanac* and of the official registers, to delete, in their next issue, from their lists of British Knights, the name of Sir John Biddle, Sir Tasker Bliss, Sir P. D. Lockbridge, Sir Peyton March, Sir John Pershing, Sir Hugh Rodman, Sir Walter Sims, Sir Joseph Straus, and the other American knights, as their inclusion in the 1919 issue has tended to shake American faith in our Mr. Low's ingenuity?

Armed with this pamphlet, in which fact and fancy, satire and truth, are deftly blended, the author was sure of an enthusiastic reception by the Clan-na-Gael. But subsequently he was repudiated by the Inner Circle. The intellectual leaders of the Irish propaganda accused him of having written this exposure of British propaganda only to "worm" himself into their confidence.

"It was," the Big Chief of the Clan-na-Gael assured me, his voice vibrant with suppressed indignation, "his entrance fee into the club."

"It's a case of throwing a sprat to catch a salmon," added his picturesque chief lieutenant, the late John Dewey.

If (a hypothesis for which no proof exists) the Irish Doctor were still, as the Big Chief suspected, connected with the British Intelligence Service, the pamphlet may have served a double purpose. It enabled him to enter the councils of the irreconcilable Irish and to furnish an antidote to the after effects of British propaganda which were beginning to annoy the British themselves. We should then have the spectacle of propaganda attempting to achieve its object by exposing itself!

III

THE HAND OF THE CLAN-NA-GAEL

Throughout the War, the Clan-na-Gael, a powerful secret Irish organization, kept step with the German-Americans. Professor Kuno Meyer, the great German authority on the Gaelic language, harangued Irish meetings, while Judge Daniel F. Cohalan inflamed German audiences with his eloquence. In most larger undertakings the Teutons were led by their Hibernian allies. The political experience of the Irish gave them the ascendancy over all other racial groups.

In my discussion of Irish propaganda, I have dwelt lightly on its larger political aspect. The importance of the Irish influence on the destiny of our country is envisaged only imperfectly by the historians.

In 1897, the Clan-na-Gael, lineal descendant of the Fenian organization of 1865-67, the Young Irelanders of 1848 and United Irish of 1798, combated the Olney-Pauncefote treaty as a "concealed alliance" with England. They succeeded in defeating the treaty. Their spokesmen "argued" with senators and reminded them of Irish-American voting power. With the aid of

German sympathizers, they captured a Cooper Union meeting called to approve the treaty, and by a clever ruse turned it into a hostile demonstration.

Under Roosevelt's presidency, John Hay, Secretary of State, negotiated a treaty with Great Britain. Immediately Irish organizations protested. The treaty was withdrawn from the Senate, after Senator Lodge turned against it. Irish partisans contend that Lodge was then standing for re-election and was compelled to reckon with the Irish vote in Massachusetts.

In Taft's administration, the Bryce treaty was laid before the Senate. It, too, was fought by the irreconcilable Irish as a "disguised treaty of alliance." The Irish objected especially to a provision for a joint supreme council to decide disputes between the two powers. Irish-American leaders were very active against this treaty. Old John Devoy discovered in Bryce's *American Commonwealth* some disparaging remarks about the Senate, advocating a curb on its power over treaties. The Irish-American forces at once printed extracts from the book in pamphlet form and placed a copy of the pamphlet on every Senator's desk. The Senate amended the treaty to death.

In 1915, or early in 1916, the secret revolutionary party in Ireland sent word to America that they intended to fight. A new organization, the Friends of Irish Freedom, was called into being to champion the cause of the Irish rebellion. Women as well as men were admitted. Unlike the Clan-na-Gael, the new society was not bound by a secret oath. But by a curious coincidence the various branches of the Friends of Irish Freedom were dominated by members of the Clan-na-Gael, and by the Cummann-na-mBan, a secret organization of women.

The comparatively small body of confirmed, initiate revolutionaries thus contrived to build an auxiliary which could draw in much greater numbers who were

not members of the inner organization. The outer, public organization was controlled by the members of the inner organizations, who started the branches, got themselves elected to most of the officerships, and controlled its machinery. The Friends of Irish Freedom closely co-operated with German-American organizations.

While the Easter rebellion was on, Shacmas O'Sheel prepared a Congressional resolution for the recognition of the Irish Revolutionists as belligerents by the United States Government. After the surrender of the Irish forces and the execution of their leaders they substituted a resolution expressing American horror at Britain's failure to treat the remaining Irish leaders as prisoners of war.

The resolution was given to a German-American Congressman who hesitated to introduce it because he was afraid his Teutonic ancestry would militate against its success. He took it to a Congressman who was not handicapped by a German name, and who saw the advantages of strengthening his political fences. Within twelve hours after its introduction, the resolution was on the cables to England. The next day or so, the execution of the leaders was stopped.

After Count Bernstorff had left the United States, German propaganda was hushed and the Irish, too, was subdued. However, when Balfour addressed a joint session of the House and Senate, Irish propagandists succeeded in placing on the desk of every member of the two houses of Congress a pamphlet: "Ask Mr. Balfour—Why are you called by the Irish Bloody Balfour?"

The Irish also thwarted the reception by joint session of the two houses of T. P. O'Connor. In this case, the resourceful Shaemas O'Sheel, without any other machinery at his disposal, reached senators and representatives by addressing to them a special delivery letter with the Irish argument against the proposed reception.

He knew that special deliveries are handed to members on the floor when the houses are in session.

After the War the Irish seized upon the Fourteen Points as a convenient political play-ball. They hammered in their demand for applying the principle of self-determination to Ireland. Their German friends joined in the chorus.

A great Irish race convention was held to dramatize the demands of Ireland. An agent of the Department of Justice vainly attempted to wriggle through the barred gate where the pow-wow was held.

"Why can't I go in?"

"This meeting," the watchful guardian of the gate replied, "is only for Irishmen."

"Well, that's a hell of an Irishman over there!" The agent pointed to the figure of a man in earnest conversation with one of the Irish leaders.

That Irishman was George Sylvester Viereck!

The Irish Victory Fund, authorized by the Convention, reached a total of \$600,000. This fund financed another dramatic gesture—an Irish-American delegation to the Peace Conference, consisting of ex-Governor Dunne of Illinois, Frank P. Walsh, a former associate of W. H. Taft on the Industrial Commission, and Michael J. Ryan of Philadelphia, leader of the United Irish League, an organization formerly at odds with the Clan-na-Gael. These moves united for the time being all Irish factions in the United States and made the Irish case a matter the world could not evade. They were, in other words good propaganda.

The Irish Race Convention, urged by Judge Cohalan and his cohorts, declared against the League of Nations. Cohalan was the most persistent foe of President Wilson. When Wilson refused to receive an Irish delegation headed by Cohalan, the Irish leader yielded his place to Judge John W. Goff, but he continued his assaults on the League and on the President.

Like a gadfly, Cohalan followed Wilson on his return from Paris. Where Wilson spoke on his swing around the circle, he was heralded by a full-page advertisement attacking the League of Nations with masterly sarcasm. Whenever he turned his back on a town, another advertisement demolishing his arguments appeared in the local press. The advertisements were paid for by the Friends of Irish Freedom.

Another predominantly Irish organization which lined up with the pro-Germans during the War was the American Truth Society, whose organizer and president was Jeremiah O'Leary, a young, handsome, and dashing member of the New York Bar. The books of the Society show that it expended over \$70,000. A large part of this money consisted undoubtedly of genuine contributions from pro-German and pro-Irish sympathizers. It is not impossible that O'Leary received substantial support from persons who were neither pro-German nor pro-Irish but pro-American. For, strange as it may seem, even in those days the pro-American was not extinct. Through other more devious channels, unknown to O'Leary but exposed afterwards, German money flowed into the coffers of the society.

O'Leary reached the acme of his career as one of the participants in a conference with Mr. Hughes during the presidential campaign of 1916. Shortly afterward he received a withering telegram from Wilson, charging him with having access to "disloyal Americans."

He continued his defiance of the Administration even after April, 1917, by publishing virulent attacks on the Allied and on the war policies of the Government in his satirical weekly, *Bull*. He was one of the few Irish leaders actually indicted and tried by the Wilson Administration.

Convinced that he would be railroaded, O'Leary

made a picturesque escape. He was caught and tried. His trial ended with his vindication.

Since the Irish Free State came into existence, Irish propaganda in the United States has been less militant. But during the World War propaganda for an Irish Republic assumed extraordinary proportions on this side of the ocean. The Irish Free State was "made in America." The Irish steered public opinion in the United States successfully because, like their British opponents, they have been on the job ever since Thomas Jefferson first denounced British propaganda and because, unlike the Germans, they suffer from no inferiority complex with regard to the English. In spite of their intense activities, the Irish escaped the obloquy heaped upon the pro-Germans in the United States. Those who kiss the Blarney Stone acquire the gift of disarming their foes with a smile.

IV

CANDID FRENCHMEN

France, like England, conducted propaganda on an enormous scale both in Europe and in the United States. When Tardieu came to this country after our entrance into the War he co-operated closely with Lord Northcliffe. Distinguished French authors dilated on German atrocities. André Cheradame and other French propagandists belaboured public opinion. The ancient friendship between the United States and France aided their propaganda, but the French were poor psychologists and poor linguists. Society and charity drives were their favourite fields of endeavour.

The Alliance Française was one of the most potent agencies of the French Government. Under the guise of spreading the French language and French culture, it ladled out political doctrines. It formed the nucleus

in many committees around which were built the camp-fires of propaganda. It far surpassed in efficiency similar German agencies, at least in the United States. The Germans were more successful in South America.

The French are not afraid to call propaganda by its right name. Three days after the outbreak of the War Viviani promulgated the law passed on the same day by the Chamber and the Senate, which provided as the first instalment of a powerful propaganda twenty-five million francs in gold for the establishment of La Maison de la Presse. This building, according to the disclosures of a chief editor in *Behind the Scenes of French Journalism*, was as lively as a beehive. Its two hundred rooms contained the workshops, offices, parlours, and reception rooms where, to quote our French authority, "those war-mad heroes are domiciled whose courage grows with the degree of distance from the trenches."

After the entrance of America into the War, the French insisted vainly upon the necessity of creating unity of command in propaganda. They sought the creation of a thinking General Staff to correlate Allied propaganda in enemy and in neutral countries. However, the divergent interests of the Allies made genuine co-operation impossible.

The French were especially energetic in drawing upon the graphic arts for reinforcements. Many of these pictures are in the collections preserved by the Germans as memorials of the madness of the War. Most French cartoons were too Continental to be effective in the United States. Nevertheless, the war cartoons helped to create that intense atmosphere of animosity in which war hatreds blossom.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICIANS AND PROPAGANDISTS

I

UPHOLDING THE PRESIDENT

THE Monroe Doctrine that keeps from our soil the hobnailed boot of alien soldiery proves unavailing against the gumshoe of foreign propaganda. This became glaringly evident during the years of the World War. It was then that, almost overnight, American domestic politics was drawn into the vortex of international intrigue.

"Uphold the hands of the President!" Dr Hale read.

The German Propaganda Cabinet snickered.

"Do you mean 'uphold' or 'hold up'?" asked a sarcastic voice.

"Take it whichever way you please!" William Bayard Hale, now press agent de luxe of the Imperial German Government, smiled a cryptic smile and continued his reading.

A week or two later huge billboards in New York, Boston, Washington, Baltimore, Atlanta, Cincinnati, and elsewhere screamed this legend at the astonished populace:

AMERICAN CITIZEN:

UPHOLD THE HANDS OF THE PRESIDENT in his noble efforts to PRESERVE PEACE by urging that Congress empower him to STOP the EXPORTATION OF ARMS and AMMUNITION from the United States to Europe.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN
FOR STRICT NEUTRALITY

BLANK PETITIONS

Ready for signature
may be obtained FREE

ADDRESS:

ORGANIZATION HEADQUARTERS
Roland Ave., Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.

Unable to mould public opinion effectively through their press, the propagandists adopted a billboard campaign. The posters bore the name "The Organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality," launched in perfect good faith by a patriotic Baltimore lady sincerely opposed to war. Other ladies joining in equal good faith, the organization provided a perfect alibi for the propagandists. Miss Miller, its president, had no suspicion that the kindly gentleman who supplied her committee with intellectual and financial sustenance was the paid agent of the German Government. Dr. Hale's secretary testified that she received \$8,000 from her employer in cash to defray the expenses of the poster campaign. The total expenditure was considerably higher. It was impeccable propaganda because the propagandists, hitching their wagon to a genuine movement, concealed their faces completely.

At other times, battles of propaganda were fought in the open. The War had not yet started when, on August 3, 1914, without awaiting any inspiration from Germany, idealistic, impetuous, and impractical, Dr. C. J. Hexamer of Philadelphia, president of the National German-American Alliance, publicly urged the German-Americans to "organize press bureaus and to combat the antagonistic attitude of the English language press." He exhorted them to correct unfair statements and organize a correspondence bureau for letters to the editors.

The National German-American Alliance was not war-gotten. This organization controlled on paper several million members. As a matter of fact, there were probably only a few thousand members actually paying dues to the central organization. Though strongly intrenched here and there, it was never important in national politics.

Many years before the War, Irish leaders had attempted to form a racial "bloc" with the Alliance. Joining with the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Alliance opposed the arbitration treaties with England proposed by Mr. Root, and helped to defeat them. The World War brought the two groups into even closer contact.

The members of the National German-American Alliance were averse to spending money for political and semi-educational purposes. They contributed freely only to the charity drives of the Alliance, collecting for war orphans, etc., nearly one million dollars. The leaders of the organization relied for financial support largely on substantial donations from the liquor interests. The organization was crushed finally between the Scylla of the Wets and the Charybdis of the Propagandists.

The so-called leaders of the German-American Alliance were largely what Theodore Roosevelt called "professional German-Americans." Some were genuine idealists, some were grafters, some were office seekers in a small way, content to be big frogs in small puddles. Most of these leaders were on strained terms with the English language. Some, however, spoke English perfectly. They appealed exclusively to *Deutschum*, but the Golden Grail of their idealism was filled to the brim with lager beer! When the time came for ballots to be printed, they were used as a political catspaw by distillers and brewers, to be discarded completely after election.

Immediately after the outbreak of the War, the

various branches and subdivisions of the "Alliance" were utilized as nuclei from which campaigns of protest were launched. Inasmuch as the pro-Allies likewise wrote to the editors, the effect of this campaign was largely neutralized. The pro-Allies had the best of it because their letters were usually couched in better English. The members of the Alliance could be relied upon to send telegrams to Washington from various centres whenever there was danger of any drastic action against Germany. The failure of the Alliance to function effectively in a real crisis was responsible for the creation of numerous other bodies, ostensibly solely American.

Dr. Hexamer issued frequent appeals to his fellow citizens. Like Lindy's father, Congressman Lindbergh, Hexamer attacked the "Money Trust." He called upon all patriotic American citizens to pass resolutions in every American society or association "to express their abhorrence of this unpatriotic and pro-British scheme." He also urged every German-American to write to the financial institution in which he had deposited money, protesting against the use of his money for the proposed Anglo-French billion dollar loan. The National German-American Alliance based its protest against the Allied loan on purely American grounds. It did not, however, protest against attempts of the German Government to raise money in the United States in a similar manner.

The National German-American Alliance admitted members who were not yet naturalized. This was a mistake. It was a challenge to America when Germanism clashed with Americanism. Offices were maintained at Washington for which the rental was paid by brewers. These facts are buried in the report of a lengthy investigation of the National German-American Alliance by a sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate.

On the 24th of November, 1914, the German-Irish *rapprochement* was duly celebrated at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia. The audience sang "God Save Ireland" and "The Watch on the Rhine." Dr. C. J. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance, revealed that an agreement between the two organizations had been in existence for ten years. He concluded his speech as follows :

The best that I have ever done for my fatherland, I did when I succeeded, with the help of a number of my American friends, to bring about an alliance between your great national Irish-American organization and the 2,000,000 German-American citizens who are unified in the National German-American Alliance. Without these and their constant watchfulness, and work in Congress for more than ten years, our country would have been enticed into an alliance with England. Instead of now enjoying the blessing of peace, we should be having war and our young men would be at the front fighting for a country that has for so many centuries crushed freedom in the splendid Emerald Isle, the fatherland of our Irish-American brothers.

Two years of war stirred the German-Americans. Here, at last, loomed an issue other than prohibition which aroused their political instincts.

II

OUR RACIAL MINORITIES

On a recent visit to Washington I encountered the representative of a great European power on his way from the White House. He had given me courteous assistance in my study of propaganda. I thanked him for his kindness.

"Have you," he asked, "made any surprising discoveries?"

"Yes," I replied frankly; "the more I study the record of foreign propaganda in the United States,

the more I am surprised by the long patience of the American Government. If I had been in charge of the State Department, I would have taken all the propagandists—German, French, English, and what not—and shipped them out of the country.”

My diplomatic friend listened courteously but could not suppress a sarcastic smile.

“You forget,” he said softly, “your racial minorities. The American Government could not dump the propagandists out because it was afraid of offending powerful racial groups.”

I was dumbfounded.

It is true that the foreign vote plays an important part in elections, but I had never thought of the divergent elements in our population as “racial minorities” in the same sense in which the term is used in European countries.

There is no real comparison between our naturalized citizens and their descendants, on the one hand, and the racial minorities of Europe, on the other.

Our naturalized citizens were not annexed by force. They came to us of their own free will. America was their Promised Land, and in many cases their haven from persecution. They found here a culture in no way inferior to that of their native countries. They acquired standards of living superior to their own. We accepted them as future Americans.

The process of Americanization takes time. It also requires tact. The latter has often been conspicuously absent in our attempts to make the immigrant an American. There is every reason why our immigrants should cherish the heritage of culture which they have received from their fathers. We should be gratified if they transmit to their American children the best traditions of their native land. But there is no reason whatsoever why they should remain an ethnic entity or a racial bloc.

Fortunately, no powerful neighbours across our borders clamour for union with their wandered sons. The ancestral voices that drift across the 3,000 miles of ocean are dim. They are, as a rule, hardly more than a whisper. During the World War, however, the whisper became a tumult. Germany, England, Italy, France, the Slavic nations, each called to her own until America rang with the fury of the dissension.

Suddenly, the hyphen became a reality, casting a sinister shadow upon the map. This was, in part at least, a retribution for the sins of our own politicians. Year after year, election after election, they had considered it necessary to appeal to the prejudices and the idiosyncrasies of specific racial contingents. Racial blocs, through combinations among themselves and through deals with the political parties, exerted a power beyond their number upon our affairs. Coddled by some, fought by others, the attention increased their racial self-consciousness. The War and the War propaganda, playing upon their emotions, consolidated these blocs still further.

The hyphen was a disturbing factor in the presidential elections of 1916, 1920, and 1924. Foreign propaganda, aided by racial blocs, drove our politicians before them like sheep. The movement assumed such momentum that even statesmen of high character could not ignore the ensuing conditions.

No one can tell how many political wires were pulled by pro-Allies and pro-Germans in the period immediately preceding our entrance into the War. Pro-Ally activities were largely behind the scenes. The Germans were compelled by the exigencies of the situation to come out into the open.

It has been said that German propaganda made a serious mistake by concentrating to a large extent upon Americans of German origin. However, every strategic consideration was in favour of such a course.

German propagandists saw how American politicians courted the German vote. They knew that the so-called German vote held the scale of political power in several pivotal states.

As a rule, Americans of German descent are as much divided as any other group politically. Ordinarily the German-American vote is only a bogey disturbing the dreams of the politician. But in the present instance the German-Americans had been fused into solidarity by the detractors of their race who, less subtle than Woodrow Wilson, made no distinction between the German Government and the German people. Bogey or no, the German-American vote made a declaration of war against Germany a precarious undertaking for any political party.

In the early part of 1916 the president of the Wisconsin branch of the National German-American Alliance, Professor Lee Stern, one of its few "intellectuals," conceived what is known as the "Wisconsin Idea." He insisted that the Alliance should demand pledges from the candidates of both parties: (1) to prohibit the export of munitions; (2) to oppose all loans to the Allies; and (3) to re-establish communications between Germany and the United States by way of the Sayville Wireless Station. He urged the German-Americans not to indorse any candidate, but to line up *against* Roosevelt *and* Wilson. The Wisconsin Idea killed Roosevelt politically. It forced Wilson's campaign managers to paint their candidate as a pacifist. "He kept us out of war," with its implied promise for the future, was intended primarily for the consumption of the German-American electorate.

When the presidential election of 1916 approached, the rivalry between the two parties for the "hyphen" vote reached a climax. A Democrat, very close to President Wilson, invited the editor of *The Fatherland* to a conference at Democratic headquarters in New

York. He assured him that Mr. Wilson was a friend of the Germans. "Mr. Viereck," this spokesman of Democracy insisted, "I owe everything I am in politics to the Germans of my native state. I am almost a German. I have come to identify myself with the German element to such an extent that I feel a sinking in my heart every time I read of German defeats. And don't forget, 'He kept us out of war.'"

Senator Stone of Missouri, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, forgathered with a group of German-Americans, including Victor Ridder, editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, and George Sylvester Viereck, at Terrace Garden, a German-American restaurant in New York. The Senator, although opposed to President Wilson on many issues, nevertheless pleaded with these German-American leaders for Mr. Wilson's re-election. From eight in the evening until two o'clock in the morning, the session lasted. At one time the venerable Senator asked: "Remember: He kept us out of war! What would you do if we were to declare war against Germany?"

"We would do our duty as American citizens," remarked Viereck. "We would shoulder a gun and fight."

"You wouldn't, and you shouldn't," exclaimed the Senator. "No one would expect you to fight against your kinsmen."

"Senator," the editor remarked, "we Americans of German descent are true to our oath of allegiance. We would do our duty. But, after it was all over, we would punish the rascals who got us into this mess."

When America entered the War, Viereck's weekly, while accepting the principle of universal service, urged Congress to exempt the Americans of German descent from actual combat against their own kin and suggested that they be used at some other front.

"The German Emperor," Viereck explained, "was criticized for telling his troops: 'If I command you to shoot your own fathers and brothers, you must obey my command!' I wanted to save Americans of German descent, many of whom had fathers and brothers in Germany, from going through such an ordeal." Viereck's position was supported by many powerful spokesmen in both houses of Congress. Nevertheless, an American officer with German antecedents, who had conscientious scruples against fighting his kinsmen, was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment because he had petitioned his military superior to be transferred to another front. He was subsequently pardoned. Even before this incident, the editor of *The Fatherland* admitted that his judgment was at fault in demanding special consideration for German-Americans. The War tried the souls of the German-Americans. That ordeal was inescapable.

III

DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS

In the negotiating between Democratic politicians and German propagandists, an American journalist, a major in the militia, plays an important part. A trusted henchman of William Jennings Bryan, the Major established valuable contacts in the Capitol, in the State Department and in the White House. This intermediary was on the pay roll of Dr. Fuchr. For forty dollars a week he communicated to the pro-Germans the "low-down" on the administration! After his employment was terminated, he explained that he had established the connections with the German groups for the purpose of "spying" on their activities.

The Major wrote letters to the editor of *The Fatherland* under the *nom de plume* of Josiah Wingate, and

Josiah Wingate he shall be here. There is no necessity for dragging his name from oblivion. Wingate testified under oath that he arranged the previously mentioned political conference between a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and German-Americans at Terrace Garden. He brought together Viereck and Burleson, Postmaster General under Wilson. He initiated a dicker for the purchase of a million copies of *The Fatherland* by the Democratic party and he induced that publication to suppress an attack upon Senator Reed of Missouri, which, in his opinion, would have cost Wilson the state of Missouri.

Wingate undoubtedly had access to secret sources of information. It was Wingate who was responsible for the famous "peace leak" which caused such havoc in Wall Street. In a letter to a broker and in a letter to the editor of *The Fatherland*, written simultaneously, Wingate accurately predicted Mr. Wilson's Peace note.

Wingate's confidential reports from Washington were immediately relayed by Dr. Fuehr's Overseas Agency to Germany and undoubtedly influenced, to a certain extent, the attitude of the German Government in its relations with the United States. They also frequently furnished the cue for editorials in various publications affiliated with the propagandists.

When the 1916 campaign was well under way, Wingate suggested a visit to Shadow Lawn, the summer residence of President Wilson, to the editor of *The Fatherland*. He reported a conversation between himself and the President on the possible "use" of Viereck in the peace negotiations. Wingate's invitation was not accepted. *The Fatherland* crowd had turned definitely against Mr. Wilson. They had not yet embraced Mr. Hughes.

James K. McGuire, former mayor of Syracuse, a pro-German Irishman, wrote an article prodding Mr. Hughes on certain questions involving the assertion

of American rights against both groups of belligerents. The Democrats organized a committee to underwrite the expense of distributing a million copies of *The Fatherland* with this article. However, before these negotiations were consummated, Mr. Hughes made a statement regarded as satisfactory by Viereck, and the article was withdrawn.

In September, 1916, Mr. Hughes received a committee of German and Irish leaders, consisting of Carl E. Schmidt, William R. MacDonald, Jeremiah O'Leary, and Frank Seiberlich. This committee officially represented the American Independence Conference.

The Four Horsemen of the Independence Conference were appointed "to secure from Mr. Hughes a definite statement for the benefit of a broad and liberal Americanism that has been offended by the British propaganda, creating as it does racial antagonism in our country." O'Leary was the chairman of the American Truth Society. MacDonald was one of the organizers of the Embargo Conference. Both organizations received financial support, directly or indirectly, from German sources. Carl E. Schmidt enjoyed the reputation of being a wealthy manufacturer with large political influence in Michigan. Seiberlich's connection with this group is not clear. The secret ramifications of the committee were unknown to Mr. Hughes. He received the committee as he received all other committees. He listened to their views and announced his own. There was nothing sinister in the transaction.

Schmidt and O'Leary, chief spokesmen of the committee, stood by their guns throughout the War. Past threescore and ten, Schmidt is to-day the head of the Steuben Society, an organization which rose out of the ashes of the National German-American Alliance after the War. A man of scholarly attainments, passionately attached to the German cause, Schmidt calls his country

place "Walhalla"—the happy hunting grounds of Teutonic lore. Some time ago, seated with Mr. Schmidt in a little boathouse on the shores of his private lake in Iosco County, Michigan, I asked him to explain to me the exact relationships between his committee and the Embargo Conference.

"Do you realize," I said, "that the Senate investigation of propaganda disclosed the trace of German money in the activities of the Embargo Conference and of its various successors?"

"I know nothing of such contributions," Mr. Schmidt replied. "No substantial contributions came to us except from two men, who drew on their own resources."

Schmidt had no knowledge of the contributions transmitted to these organizations through dummies. He gave freely from his resources and obtained substantial donations from wealthy friends. Some of these friends "donated" sums of money which they had received for this purpose from German sources. The trick is not new. It has been used again and again to conceal the origin of campaign contributions.

Schmidt confided to me that he had attended only one meeting of the notorious Embargo Conference.

"It soon became apparent to me and to others," the veteran German-American leader remarks, "that it was not feasible to stop the supply of munitions to the Allies. Success would have been a calamity. If we established an embargo on arms the manufacturers of war material and their bankers would have rushed us into the War without delay. So we changed our plans and dropped both the demand for an embargo on arms and the name of the organization."

"Was it," I asked, "ever officially dissolved?"

"I do not know. But the Independence Conference took its place."

"What was the purpose of the Independence Conference?"

"Realizing the hopelessness of trying to stop the flood of munitions, we determined to break down the barriers against furnishing foodstuffs. We insisted upon our right to sell food to any country without restrictions."

"Your efforts," I remarked, "if successful, would have aided Germany. But they would have embroiled us with Great Britain!"

"Not necessarily. There was a time when we could have enforced our right to ship non-contraband cargoes to any country. To make the sea safe for non-contraband cargoes involved an assertion of our neutral rights. The freedom of the seas is a traditional policy of the American Government. It was our duty to enforce this principle equally against both belligerents.

"Our plan benefited the producer of foodstuffs without impairing the profits of the munition maker. The contentment of both supplied an excellent reason for remaining neutral. Controlling both munitions and foodstuffs, Uncle Sam could have spoken the decisive word that would have ended the conflict whenever he pleased."

"What precedent did you have for your demand?"

"You will find the moral and legal justification for our contention in the autobiography of Andrew D. White, formerly our Ambassador in Berlin, in a passage discussing the attitude of the German Government in the Spanish-American War."

Apparently Mr. Schmidt's argument for the freedom of the seas impressed the Republican candidate. "We were convinced," Schmidt insists, "that Mr. Hughes agreed with our opinion, and that he would enforce American rights impartially against all nations on land and sea. For that reason we concluded to support his candidacy.

"But the Wilson slogan—'He kept us out of war'—made a deep impression on our following, and the

bitter speeches of ex-President Roosevelt in favour of Hughes stirred up their animosity against the candidate of the Republican party.

"I suspect that Roosevelt acted with deliberation. It was a blow to his pride that the Republican party had preferred Hughes to him. His speeches, couched in language offensive to Americans of German descent and equally offensive to the Irish-Americans, helped to defeat the Republican candidate. Wilson's slogan and Roosevelt's speeches saved the Democrats from the embarrassment of making substantial and unequivocal pledges to secure the 'German-American vote.' "

IV

WHY HUGHES WAS NOT ELECTED

The demand of Mr. Schmidt's committee for a relaxation of the British blockade against foodstuffs was not without support in official quarters. The White Book of the American Government on Foreign Relations of the United States for the year 1915, reveals that Colonel House tried to secure a relaxation of the British Hunger Blockade. He dangled before the British, in return, a modification of German submarine warfare. The effort ended in failure, due to the recalcitrance of both belligerents.

Both Robert Lansing and the British Ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, supported the endeavours of Colonel House. Mr. Lansing pointed out to the Ambassador that the idea of starving men, women, and children seemed to many people as inhuman as drowning them. The Ambassador replied that he agreed with Mr. Lansing.

"Why then," Lansing asked, "do not your gov-

ernment relieve themselves of the odium of pursuing an inhuman policy by agreeing to allow food to go to the civil population of Germany? You have nothing to lose, because you admit you cannot starve the nation into submission, and you have much to gain, because you will put Germany in the position of having to stop her submarine attacks or else bear alone the stigma of being cruel and inhuman.

"Whichever way the German Government decides, Great Britain would seem to be the gainer. I do not suggest this course on humanitarian grounds, but solely on the ground of expediency. It seems to me," Mr. Lansing concluded, "the politic thing for your government to do."

The British Ambassador answered: "You are entirely right. It would be the very best course my government could take, and would put Germany in a serious dilemma. I shall suggest it to Sir Edward Grey and urge its adoption."

At the time of his conference with Mr. Hughes, neither Schmidt nor the Republican candidate knew that for some time already diplomatic negotiations were going on between Lansing and Spring-Rice to modify the British blockade against foodstuffs. The demand of the committee was not in itself unreasonable. Nevertheless, we behold here the dangerous spectacle of a bloc, organized along racial lines, affiliated with one group of belligerents, creating an issue in a Presidential campaign. Men took sides not as Americans honestly agreeing or disagreeing on an American issue, but as pro-Allies and as pro-Germans.

Mr Hughes made a ringing declaration for American rights in Springfield, Illinois. This, in itself, was eminently proper. No one would expect a presidential candidate to pledge himself to ignore our rights. But the remarks of Mr. Hughes carried to his hearers implications far-reaching in their international con-

sequences. What he said was clear enough. He did not understand that there were any implications conveying any meaning that he did not publicly express.

Wilson's slogan implied at best a negative attitude. The words of his opponent seemed to foreshadow a definite course of action to maintain American rights. The attitude of the audience of nine thousand crowded into the Armoury at Springfield dispels any doubts on this score. They listened coldly to the main part of the speech until Mr. Hughes reached the point for which they had been waiting. When he promised that he would "stand foursquare to all nations," the sullen silence melted and he received a tremendous ovation.

Hughes's Springfield speech had induced the pro-German element to favour an immediate indorsement of the Republican presidential candidate, at a conference between German and Irish leaders held at the Kaiserhof in Chicago. The Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan, however, always powerful and almost always convincing, fought a long, eloquent and, finally, successful battle to delay indorsement. He considered the Springfield speech "inadequate." It did not convince him that Hughes had "committed" himself sufficiently.

Cohalan elaborated the theory that during all the years of heavy immigration from Germany and Ireland into this country, these two streams of racial stocks had been directed by some shrewd power and influence into opposite parties. He asserted that, on the basis of the Springfield speech, Irish-American leaders could not be sure of swinging an Irish vote to Hughes. The committee finally decided to take no energetic action for Hughes until he had made a more emphatic declaration. This he did in the Academy of Music in Philadelphia soon afterward. Thereupon, the headquarters of the German-Irish Entente became very active and sent out great masses of literature

to German-Americans, Irish-Americans, and Swedish-Americans.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Hughes emphasized American rights. When he said at Philadelphia that we did not "propose to tolerate any improper interference with American property, with American mails, or with legitimate commercial intercourse," and "that no American who was exercising only American rights, should be put on any blacklist by any foreign nation," he stated only a doctrine of sound American statesmanship. Was it not ostensibly the doctrine of the Administration itself? It was only because of the excitement of the campaign and the two propagandas at war on American soil, that any one could question such a policy. The fact that such a statement could be regarded as a triumph for the pro-Germans and as a defeat for the pro-Allies, indicate to what state of hysteria the country had been reduced by propaganda.

Subsequent speeches by Mr. Hughes chilled the enthusiasm of some of his new-won admirers. There were, moreover, currents and cross currents. The German-American support of Hughes chagrined the German Ambassador. Count Bernstorff was on excellent terms with President Wilson. German-American polemics against the administration weakened the Ambassador's position in the White House. He used every possible influence within the limits of diplomatic propriety to divert German-American attacks from the President. Although successful in some cases, Bernstorff confessed his inability to curb the effervescence of the militant German-American leaders.

The efforts made to court the German-American vote on behalf of Wilson and Hughes did not escape publicity, although the full story of these negotiations is disclosed here for the first time. On October 23rd Mr. Hughes made the following statement in the *New York Times* :

I saw the persons mentioned at their request, about the middle of September, just as I have seen all persons and delegations so far as possible who have asked me to receive them. I have said nothing in private that I have not said in public.

At the very beginning, in my speech of acceptance I declared my position in favour of the absolute protection of American lives and American property, and American commerce. This I reiterated to these persons, and I have stated it to all others who have asked interviews as well as in my public speeches. I have declared over and over again that I have made no private agreements and have engaged in no intrigues, and I repeat that statement.

I am indebted to Mr. Hughes for unearthing these statements for me in his files.

"If," Justice Hughes avers in a statement to me, "history is to be correctly written, it should appear that I had no secret understandings, that I had nothing to do with any intrigues, that I made no promises, but that I did state what I believed to be sound American policies; that I stated them to all comers, the committee in question included, but that I made no promise to that committee and did not swerve from my attitude either to please them or their opponents."

The American people have bestowed upon Mr. Hughes every favour within their power except one. We made him Governor of New York, Secretary of State, and Chief Justice. Except for cross-currents of war propaganda, the great jurist would have been President Hughes. Since the result of the election hinged upon a few thousand votes it is possible that Bernstorff defeated Hughes. Bernstorff and Theodore Roosevelt jointly encompassed the election of Woodrow Wilson.

V

MR. ROOSEVELT'S DISCOVERY

No inkling of a bold attempt to line up the German-Americans for Theodore Roosevelt before the nomination

of Hughes ever appeared in print. Viereck, who was familiar with all the facts, failed to relate them, for some unaccountable reason, in his book on Roosevelt.

The episode involves Professor Hugo Munsterberg, the most intellectual of the pro-Germans. Disagreeing both with the German Ambassador and with the Independence Conference, the Harvard professor argued that Roosevelt's election would be most advantageous to Germany, in spite of the Colonel's aggressive support of the Allies.*

Distrusting both Hughes and Wilson, Münsterberg was convinced that Theodore Roosevelt, if elected, would tolerate no nonsense from either group of belligerents.

"If Roosevelt had been in the White House, there would have been no World War," he once said to me.

Convinced that Roosevelt would permit no interference with America's mails and harmless American cargoes, he attempted to lead the German-Americans into the camp of the Rough Rider. Roosevelt had lost at that time most of his German-American friends. The editor of *The Fatherland* had exchanged acrimonious letters with the contributing editor of *The Outlook*. This correspondence is on record in Viereck's study of Roosevelt.

Determined to take the bull by the horns, Münsterberg startled the country by espousing Theodore Roosevelt as a candidate for the presidency. Viereck printed the article in his weekly without indorsing Professor Münsterberg's candidate. The Harvard professor arranged a conference to heal the breach between Viereck and Roosevelt. It was the first meeting between these two since the early days of the World War, when Viereck, accompanied by Dr. Dernburg, had lunched with Colonel Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. The meeting took place in the old *Outlook* office on Madison Avenue.

* See Appendix, p. 277.

The two plunged without preliminaries into the subject of their controversy.

"Only in 1913," said Viereck to Roosevelt, "you yourself encouraged me to publish a magazine in the German language with the object of keeping alive a knowledge of German culture and of the German tongue in the United States. What has made you so bitter against the Germans?"

Roosevelt looked at Viereck through his heavy glasses. His teeth flashed and his hand came down with a thud.

"Mr. Viereck," he said, "I am opposed to the Germans because a German victory is a peril to the United States."

"In what way?" asked the irrepressible Viereck.

"Mr. Viereck," Roosevelt replied earnestly, "I have admired your poetry since my daughter Alice first showed me your 'Nineveh.' It was a bully poem. I was grateful to you for your lyric and your political aid in the Progressive campaign. I have many friends among German-Americans. I have always been their friend. I need not tell you that I am not pro-British.

"I cherished the copy of the *Nibelungenlied* which I received from the Kaiser. I showed you the book when you came with your father to see me in Oyster Bay. There was a time when I admired Emperor William sincerely. But I can be his friend no longer when he is plotting against my country."

"What proof have you of such a plot?"

"Here!"

Roosevelt shuffled among his papers.

"Right here I have the evidence. I have told no other German-American why I am against Germany. I shall tell you, because you have been my friend. I hold here"—his hand dropped upon one of the papers—"a copy of the plan of the German General Staff for the invasion of the United States. If Germany wins,

America will be the next objective of her aggression."

"I cannot," replied the editor of *The Fatherland* incredulously, "visualize a Germany army crossing the ocean. The Germans cannot even swim across the Channel!"

Mr. Roosevelt remained adamant to Viereck's arguments.

The plan for a German attack on the United States which alarmed Mr. Roosevelt was published after America's entrance into the War. I had the opportunity to discuss the matter with Emperor William and with General Ludendorff. Both gave me their word that the alleged plan was a forgery. "No such plan," the Kaiser assured me, "was ever conceived or authorized."

Forgery or not, the alleged plan weighed heavily on the scales of Roosevelt's decision. It doomed Professor Münsterberg's plan to consolidate German-American sentiment behind Roosevelt to perish still-born. The only tie between Americans of German descent and Roosevelt was their hatred of Wilson.

"Mr. Wilson and Mr. McAdoo—" began Viereck.

The Colonel's jaw snapped, and he interrupted Viereck with an epigram which will not bear repetition.

The battle remained between Wilson and Hughes. With the Germans and the Irish aligned against him, Roosevelt was no longer an available candidate. Professor Münsterberg's trial balloon fell to the ground completely deflated.

It is interesting to note that the celebrated Harvard professor who could write so engagingly on the American soul was not an American citizen. Münsterberg's alien nationality did not deter politicians from seeking his aid. Münsterberg confided to me that a distinguished attorney, looming high in the councils of the Democratic party, had approached him with the proposition of selling out to the Germans for a substantial "retainer."

The great psychologist refused to act as an intermediary between this politician and the German treasury. He was enraged when the attorney in question afterwards assumed an attitude hostile to Germany. As a psychologist Münsterberg should have known that it is possible for a learned counsel to keep his legal and his political conscience in two separate air-tight compartments. Münsterberg was dissuaded with difficulty by his friends from creating a national scandal.

VI

THE SHADOW OF THE HYPHEN

No politician, small or large, could afford to be silent about the hyphen. Hughes took a very sensible point of view. He said, on October 26th :

I don't want the support of any one to whom the interest of the nation is not supreme. As to any person whose allegiance to our flag is not single and complete, who would not instantly champion the rights and interests of our country against any country on earth, who wants impunity for foreign aggression or would have the power of this nation held captive by any foreign influence or swerved by alien machinations, let him not vote for me.

Wilson and Roosevelt scolded the hyphenates instead of directing the volleys of their rhetoric upon foreign propagandists and native politicians who exploited the hyphen for their own selfish purpose.

Bryan, animated by dreams of international amity and world peace, did not realize the danger of a divided racial consciousness. A German-American member of Congress was the contact man between the Germans and Bryan, when Bryan was Secretary of State.

After resigning as Secretary of State, Bryan gave advice to the pro-Germans from the depth of his pacifist heart. Addressing an audience of 100,000 in Madison

Square Garden, he played into the hands of the pro-Germans by supporting their demand for an embargo on the trade in death-dealing implements. In April, 1917, Mr. Bryan sent a message to the editor of *The Fatherland*, urging a "silent parade" as a protest against war. At the same hour, the parade was to move silently through the streets of many American cities.

In spite of his visionary characteristics, Mr. Bryan remained the practical politician. He advised the German-Americans and the Irish to remain in the background, to march under the banner of Pacifism. A committee was to present resolutions, identical in text, to the mayor of each city, demanding the peaceful arbitration of all our differences with the Central Powers and with the Allies. The mayor was to transmit this demand to the local representatives of the district and to the senator from the state. Mr. Bryan's suggestion was not carried out because the pro-Germans were not sufficiently well organized to arrange a nationwide parade on so large a scale.

The contacts between Washington and the Germans were many. The German propagandists frequently received advance information from mysterious sources on contemplated moves of the Administration. This advance information, immediately transmitted to Viercek, Ridder, Hexamer, and others, was responsible for many communications from the German language press and from German-Americans to Congress. German-American activities were most intense in the spring of 1916. The pressure thus exerted was a powerful factor in staying our declaration of war until 1917.

Both pro-Germans and pro-Allies courted important political personages in the national capital. The isolation that surrounds a throne makes even sovereigns susceptible to the whisperings of any one who, by hook or crook, is able to gain their ear. If a lobbyist

secures the confidence of a member of the Senate or of the cabinet his game is half won.

"You don't know how lonesome some senators are! I owe my success in Washington to the fact that I spend all my week-ends there to indulge in chats with my friends in the Senate." The ruddy-faced man who made this remark to me, smilingly, is a militant spokesman of a powerful racial minority group. "Many members of Congress," he added, "are like children lost in the woods, especially when they first come to Washington. They welcome any intelligent friend who understands their difficulties, who knows how to manipulate the wires, and who can give them, on occasion, a little publicity."

Publicity is a salve to the wounded vanity of the statesman who finds himself cruelly neglected in Washington. Resolutions and messages from various parts of the country, especially from his own district, increase his self-esteem. Even politicians of considerable experience are swayed by such methods. They are in no position to determine whether the membership of an organization from which these resolutions ostensibly emanate is genuine or whether its chief asset is embossed stationery.

The cleverest propagandist I know prefers paper organizations to real ones. Paper organizations never talk back! Or, if some semblance of reality is needed, he resorts to skeleton organizations with mouth-filling names, composed of his henchmen. His political closet is full of such skeletons.

The most important member of such an organization is a key man in every important city. He carries the organization in his vest pocket. Whenever the chief gives the signal, the key man holds a meeting with himself and adopts a prescribed resolution. Wired to Washington from eight or ten different localities, such resolutions produce the effect of a political avalanche.

Another effective trick to impress politicians utilizes the device of revolving memberships. Twelve men form an organization proudly given some high-sounding name. Each immediately becomes the presiding officer of a branch. We have thus twelve presidents and twelve branches. A heads one branch, B, C, D, E, and so on, enlist as members. B is president of another branch, A, C, D, E, and so on, inscribe their names on his membership roll. The branches are immortalized on letterheads as Post No. 1, Post No. 2, Post No. 3, etc. Frequently the individual "posts," or "camps," instead of being designated by numbers, adopt the name of a famous general or a famous battle. Each has a different geographical location. Statements emanating from such an organization, with widely scattered branches, duly impress some innocents on Capitol Hill.

Revolving memberships and interlocking directorates enabled small groups to present an imposing front. These groups adopted half a dozen aliases. Each organization was properly constituted. Each had its own by-laws, but the same names adorned a dozen boards of directors. The same pompous speakers mouthed the same pious platitudes from a dozen platforms. Members joined in good faith. Officers served with unselfish zeal, without being conscious of the invisible strings pulled by unseen puppet masters.

Even without such subterfuges, an aggressive minority group is more effective than a voiceless majority. It becomes almost irresistible politically if it represents the coalition of a number of powerful groups. The clever propagandist who spends his week-ends in Washington comforting lonely senators, conceived the idea of pooling all racial minorities under some all-embracing name. To line up various selfish and sometimes antagonistic interests, and their frequently selfish and vainglorious leaders, proved an impossible task.

But it was not necessary for the propagandist. It sufficed if he could bring them together on paper.

He selected key men from some of his own paper organizations, then he borrowed an influential German, an influential Swede, an influential Italian, etc., etc., to form an "advisory council." All these men were members of some important racial society. Some attended the council as delegates of their organizations. Others came without any authority whatsoever.

The propagandist could now go to Washington and tell Congress: "I represent so many million Irish, so many million Germans, so many million Scandinavians, etc., etc." No one in Washington could separate the wheat from the chaff. Aided by this device and by his own persuasive personality, this propagandist performed political miracles.

Not all combinations between racial blocs exist only on paper. We have already seen that, years before the War, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the National German-American Alliance agreed upon a formal plan of co-operation. The plan called for political activity on the part of both organizations. It was anti-British, and it exhaled unmistakably the odour of rum.

The joint conference bombastically proclaimed an "alliance" of the two societies "for the good of this republic." One object of their joint activity was: "to oppose an alliance of any kind, secret or otherwise, with any foreign power on the part of the Government of the United States." Another object was: "to oppose the enactment by Congress of the United States or the legislatures of the various states, of any sumptuary or any other law or laws breaching the personal liberty of its citizens." Still another resolution avowed opposition to: "any and every restriction of immigration of healthy persons from Europe, exclusive

of convicted criminals, anarchists and those of immoral character."

The National German-American Alliance, in pursuit of this programme, maintained offices at Washington for which the rental was paid by the brewers.

Stirred by politics and propaganda, public excitement had reached such a pitch that on the eve of our war with Germany some of the English expected a German-American uprising under the auspices of the Irish. Nothing happened. A million eyes watched German and Irish sympathizers. There was no disloyalty. There was no treason. Between Germany and the Allies, German-Americans were for Germany. But both German-Americans and Irish-Americans were for America at all times whenever America herself was involved.

Both German and Irish sympathizers needed a little while to adjust themselves mentally and emotionally to the new state of affairs. A few German-Americans and a few Irish-Americans were guilty of loose talk. However, propaganda had worked such havoc that many of us were unable to see German-Americans or Irish-Americans in the proper perspective. This confusion in our minds was one of the penalties for our tolerance of propaganda.

VII

THE TIDE OF PATRIOTISM

The declaration of war blighted many German-American societies. These societies, athletic clubs (*Turnerbunds*) organizations of German veterans, never recovered from shell-shock. The National German-American Alliance was deprived of its charter by Congress. After America entered the War, many of its activities, legitimate at the time, were condemned

retroactively as "anti-American." Every beer fest became a conspiracy, every protest, however sincere, was enumerated as a pro-German plot! In vain the late Theodore Sutro, publisher of Mr. Hearst's German Journal, once president of the New York Branch of the Alliance, protested against the cancellation of its charter.

"Do you suppose," he said, addressing the Senate Committee, "that I would be a better American citizen if my name was Root, Cravath, or Putnam instead of Sutro, or if I spoke the German language with an English accent, or not at all, instead of being equally proficient in both languages?"

The protest fell on deaf ears. In vain others pointed out to the Senate that "pro-German" and "anti-American" were not synonymous terms. The organization passed from the picture.

Many German-Americans had voted for Wilson because he "kept us out of war." Others voted for him because they distrusted the men associated with Hughes. Wilson's declaration of war after his pacific campaign left his German-American supporters in a state between panic and rage.

The pro-Germans accused President Wilson of being a partisan of Great Britain. This view was shared by Lord Northcliffe. Dr. William B. Hale, Wilson's erstwhile friend and collaborator, makes much ado over the President's British ancestry and affiliations. Irish orators referred to him as "the best President England ever had." This was obviously unjust to Wilson. A few bold strokes of the propaganda brush do not suffice to paint a highly complex personality.

"Would you say that Northcliffe was right when he called Wilson pro-English?" I asked an English friend so highly placed that I cannot indicate his identity here.

"Wilson was not consciously pro-English. Wilson

would have snubbed me if I had come to him with a request based on such grounds. I appealed to his brain, to his philosophy, and to his subconscious instincts. He generally acceded to our wishes, but never without finding some argument that justified his decision on high moral and intellectual grounds."

"I always felt that Wilson considered the defeat of the British Empire an unthinkable misfortune. This is borne out by Tumulty's reminiscences and by Colonel House."

"Wilson," my friend replied, "would not have countenanced the defeat of Great Britain. But he had no desire to see Germany crushed. He was sincere in his advocacy of a 'peace without a victory.' He did not, as some Germans think, doublecross the German Ambassador, Count Bernstorff."

From the beginning both pro-German and pro-Irish suspected the League of Nations as a British device. Their informants may have advised them that the first official mention of the League of Nations in official war-time correspondence was contained in a communication to Secretary Lansing of September 7, 1915, from Henry van Dyke, Minister to the Netherlands, giving the substance of a conversation with Sir William Tyrrell, private secretary of Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

On August 30, 1919, there was a hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate in opposition to the League of Nations. The protestants were frankly representatives of Irish-American organizations.

All these documents and speeches—both those that were made and some that were not actually delivered—were printed as a Senate Document and circulated widely at the expense of the Government. The man who invented the franking privilege was the friend of the propagandist!

A little later there was a hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on a bill of William E. Mason, of Illinois, to provide salaries for a minister and consuls to the Republic of Ireland. This agitation brought Irish-American voting power directly home to the men in Washington. It made the Irish cause news and kept the spirits of the Irish-Americans at high tide.

The Irish-Americans would have fought against the entry of the United States into the League even if the Irish fight had not been acute or if Ireland itself had not been involved at all, though unquestionably the ranks of Irish-American organizations would have been much thinner and the force at the command of Irish-American leaders much less potent. The Irish-Americans never concealed the fact that they were moved largely by Ireland's interest. Nevertheless, they set out to get the body of American citizens lined up against the League on purely American issues.

German-Americans were doubtless opposed in great numbers to the League as a matter of principle, but most of them were drawn into the fight not by that proclaimed motive but by the unproclaimed motive of punishing Wilson. The object may have been impeccable, but the motive, conscious or unconscious, behind their intense activity was questionable.

British and French propagandists had come to look upon America as their domain. While the hostilities lasted they appealed unabashed to divers racial minorities within our borders. At the time of the Peace Conference their impudence reached high tide. When President Wilson threatened to bolt the Peace Conference, the propagandist-in-chief of France actually proposed to send highly paid propagandists to the United States to get in touch with the President's opponents, especially with his foes in the Senate.

This extraordinary suggestion was exposed in a French newspaper.

The hyphen vote survived the World War. In 1920, the German-American vote, silenced by the cannonade of the War, reasserted itself. *The Fatherland*, which had survived the War and its aftermath, at first as Viereck's *American Weekly* and later as the *American Monthly*, promised Harding six million German-American votes. Governor Cox taunted Harding with this support.

After the election of Harding, the *New York World* and other Democratic newspapers twitted the President with Viereck's six million votes. Undaunted by this criticism, Harding received Viereck and a delegation of German-Americans in Florida. This delegation submitted the wishes of the German-Americans as framed by the German-American Citizens League of Chicago, an organization retrieved from the wreck of the old National German-American Alliance. One of the points demanded was a pardon for Mr. Debs. Mr. Debs was released shortly after the inauguration of President Harding.

A large part of the votes received by Debs in 1920 came from the Germans and from the Irish. This support indicated no leaning toward Socialism. It was purely a political protest. The same element supported La Follette in 1924. But in 1924 the first fine rapture of hate was gone. The La Follette vote was a complimentary vote, impelled by gratitude. In politics gratitude is less potent than hate.

The hyphen vote played practically no part in the election of Mr. Hoover. Both the Irish and the Germans were divided among themselves. Now that Ireland has achieved autonomy, Irish freedom has ceased to be an issue in American politics. The good will shown by America to the German Republic has calmed the Germans in the United States. Both the Allies

and the Central Powers have joined hands at Geneva. Let us hope that their protagonists in the United States will permit us to decide our own course with regard to the League of Nations on purely American grounds.

There is at this moment no great slogan to stir the hyphen consciousness. To-day, German-Americans are reconciled to the German Republic. The Irish accept the Irish Free State. Prohibition is an issue that is of vital interest not only to the German-Americans but to all Americans irrespective of race. This does not mean that a new trouble somewhere in Europe may not again make the melting pot boil over like the cauldron of Shakespeare's witches.

Racial islands in the ocean of Americanism have been a menace to our ship of state. Politicians and propagandists pulled us hither and thither, interfering now in the engine room, now at the helm. It is almost a miracle that we escaped disaster.

Luck was our ally. The most important elements which constitute our citizenship were kindred in blood and in spirit. All differences between these groups were washed away by the tide of patriotism. The War taught us that we are one people, and not an aggregation of Little Italys, Little Germanys, Little Irelands, Little Scandinavias and Little Englands. The Civil War saved us from being a nation divided geographically. It may be urged that the World War redeemed us from being a divided nation racially unless we permit the unholy alliance of politicians and propagandists to promote the creation of new racial minorities.

It took two wars with England and one war with Germany to assert our independence of Old World ties. The knowledge that in a crisis Uncle Sam can depend upon all his sons, irrespective of their racial origin, is the greatest, perhaps the only, asset which America gained in the World War.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROPAGANDA PROPHYLAXIS



PROPAGANDA AND THE NEXT WAR

“**W**HAT will be the function of propaganda in the next war?”

“Propaganda,” Colonel Norman G. Thwaites earnestly exclaimed, “is as important as ammunition. But”—he smiled—“propaganda may win without artillery. Artillery without propaganda is futile. Looking back upon the propaganda of the World War, I feel that we all were children in the art compared with Moscow!”

“What happened ultimately to all the British missions to the United States?”

“They have all been dispersed long ago. There remains the Reunion of British Missions to America, which meets once a year for dinner to revive acquaintances. But the membership has decreased year by year. It will probably be absorbed by the English Speaking Union.”

“I was under the impression,” I said, “that the Reunion now and then still indulges in propaganda.”

Thwaites raised his hands deprecatingly.

“I presume,” he said, “you refer to our purchase of the memoirs of Ambassador Page. Having idle funds on hand, we distributed a large number of the Ambassador’s book not only in England but in the United States.”

"Don't you call that propaganda?"

To this question Thwaites made no answer.

"Is there not," I asked, "a British propaganda bureau in Whitehall Street?"

"You refer," Thwaites remarked with a smile, "no doubt to the British Library of Information, which I started during the War. This is a special reference library for official publications of the British Empire and standard works on British affairs. The Library may be consulted free during office hours. Arrangements have been made to lend documents throughout the United States, under the inter-library loan system, established by the Library of Congress. The Library acts as the agency of His Majesty's Stationery Office for the sale of British official publications. It is not propaganda. British propaganda," he thoughtfully added, "is dead."

"Don't you think that it could be galvanized into action very quickly if the occasion required?"

Again Thwaites smiled, but did not reply.

Colonel Thwaites notwithstanding, propaganda is never dead. Every foreign office has its press departments and its mouthpieces in the press. Sixteen years prior to the great cataclysm, the *London Times*, the *London Spectator* and the *London National Review* conducted an anti-German propaganda with the special object of arousing the suspicion of the United States against Germany. Similar forces, set at work during the exigencies of the War, survived even after Armageddon. Shortly after the cessation of hostilities, the *London Times* of July 4, 1919, controlled by Lord Northcliffe, rendered glowing accounts of the efficient propaganda instituted by Northcliffe in the United States and "carried on by those learned in the arts of creating public good will and of swaying public opinion."



(Photo by Underwood & Underwood)

This harmless news picture of the so-called "Bread Riots" in New York City early in 1917, when women of the East Side appealed to the Mayor at the City Hall to curb the rising price of food, was circulated in Germany and other countries as evidence of the resentment aroused in the United States against our entrance into the World War.

This innocent snapshot of an interned German prisoner of war, Capt. Koenig, at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., created an intense international situation. It was circulated as evidence that German officers were 'put to work on the rock pile' (a pile of rocks appeared in the background).



What are these arts? What is the object of the campaign?

"Efficiently organized propaganda to mobilize the press, the church, the stage and the cinema; to press into active service the whole educational system, the universities, public and high schools and primary schools; to provide for subsidizing the best men to write books and articles."

Nor is this all.

We are told: "Histories and text-books upon literature should be revised. New books should be added, particularly in the primary schools. Hundreds of exchange university scholarships should be provided. Local societies should be formed in every centre to foster British-American good will, in close co-operation with an administrative committee."

After his departure from the United States, Lord Northcliffe, according to a statement dug up by C. G. Miller, announced that he was leaving behind him "one hundred and fifty million dollars, and ten thousand trained agents," to carry on the work after the War. It is not clear if Northcliffe referred only to propaganda, or to other activities.

The World War proved to be a postgraduate course for propagandists. The War began with a scrap of paper and ended in a cyclone of scraps of paper. Propaganda swept us into the War with a million scraps of printed paper. Now scraps of paper, telephone books ripped to tatters, envelopes torn from waste-paper baskets, and tons of tape fluttering upon the street spelled peace. From a thousand sky-scrapers the avalanche descended until Broadway looked as if it were buried deep under ten inches of snow.

Men threw their hats into the air and embraced each other. Women grew hysterical. Laughing and weeping, the crowds milled through the streets.

It was the day of the Fake armistice.

The fictitious report anticipated the truth by only forty-eight hours. Some American students of publicity attribute the false rumour to German agents who believed that after America experienced deliriums of joy over the Armistice, no soldier thirsting for national glory could persuade the United States Government to resume the march to Berlin. Others believe that the German Government had lost its head too completely to be capable of such ingenuity. A government able to conceive so bold a stratagem would have lost neither the War nor the Peace!

The War taught us much about propaganda. Bolshevist Russia intensified our education. The Soviets developed marvellous propaganda systems. They equipped special propaganda trains to carry the gospel of Lenin to the most far-flung districts. Children could obtain the necessities of life only by attending communist schools. Every Bolshevist soldier became a Bolshevist propagandist. The Bolshevist infection, spreading into Germany, benumbed the hands of the German Government and reduced Germany to impotence. Up went the red flag in Kiel, Hamburg, and Munich. After having successfully withstood the assault of twenty-two nations, Germany succumbed to Bolshevism. Germany's disarmament was not so complete, even after the Armistice, that she could not have risked a last desperate struggle when the Allies threw the torn tatters of the Fourteen Points at her feet, if she had not been paralyzed by Bolshevism.

Ludendorff unlatched the gates of Russia to Lenin. Northcliffe and Creel dug a thousand secret channels permitting anarchy and defeatism to percolate into Germany. Both sides played with forces they could not control. Lenin's Bolshevist flood, sweeping into the trenches from Russia, forced Ludendorff and his Emperor into exile. The turbulent spirits unleashed by Northcliffe and Creel in enemy territory, threatening

for a time to submerge all Europe, imperilled the safety of the Allies.

Austria and Hungary were plague spots of communism. But anarchy made no discrimination between friend and foe. Like influenza, it stopped at no frontier. The spirit of revolution leaped across oceans. Seizing Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for their own purposes, the Bolsheviks roused all Asia. Everywhere the fruit of victory turned into Dead Sea fruit.

The Armistice, far from putting an end to propaganda, accelerated its wheels. Every belligerent promptly established propaganda headquarters in Paris. Every day some propaganda bomb exploded in the press. We were deafened by the noise of these detonations. At times two contending propaganda forces, skirmishing for some special advantage, annihilated each other. Some propagandists fell by the wayside, but new recruits appeared to continue the task with undiminished intensity.

The army of propagandists was never completely demobilized. Skeleton regiments, or cadres, of propaganda exist in every country and every foreign office. Every embassy boasts of a corps of trained propagandists.

Even to-day editors and contributors attached loosely to some foreign office frequently act as correspondents of American newspapers. The writings of these men necessarily reflect a foreign rather than an American point of view. They are the intermediaries through which the foreign offices send up their trial balloons. There can be no doubt that in any new cataclysm the fountain pens of the propagandists will again be unsheathed. The propaganda army is always on the alert. If it is not fighting a foreign foe, it is kept on the home front.

II

POST-WAR PROPAGANDA

Sir Philip Gibbs was one of the first to plead for a return to reason. His books, *Now It Can Be Told* and *More That Can Be Told*, opened the eyes of the intelligent minority. Gibbs risked his popularity by telling the truth about propaganda.

Throughout the period of war hysteria there was a disposition to confuse the propagandist (on the opposite side) with the spy. The propagandist is the antithesis of the spy. The spy attempts to abstract from your mind something that is useful to his employers. The propagandist tries to put something into your mind that is not yet there. He seeks to substitute his employer's ideas for your own. The spy is most active in times of war. The propagandist plies his trade at all times. Though under the stimulus of war hysteria, propaganda assumes gigantic proportions, it flourishes no less lustily in times of peace.

America was comparatively safe from destructive creeds, which flourish only where starvation stalks. We were too well fed for Bolshevism. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice, which had manfully resisted war hysteria, now emulated the Spanish Inquisition. Constitutional liberty was strangled. Men who had laughed at Big Berthas were in a dead funk at the sight of a few wild-eyed poets and vagrants spouting Bolshevism from soap boxes.

The war to make the world safe for democracy made democracy unsafe for America. This statement does not emanate from the late Eugene V. Debs. It occurs in an address delivered before the Harvard Liberal Club by Federal Judge the Hon. George W. Anderson, in 1920. Judge Anderson denounced the

forces engendered by propaganda which threatened to destroy our liberties.

As United States Attorney from November, 1914, to October 15, 1917, I was charged with a large responsibility as to protecting this community from pro-German plots. In October, 1917, I went on the Interstate Commerce Commission, and was, until the Armistice, in intimate personal association with the Attorney-General, and with the men charged with responsibility as to discovering, preventing and punishing pro-German plots.

What I now say I say entirely on my own responsibility, but I say it after exchanging views with many others, having analogous responsibilities during this war period. If in fact the pro-German plots were no adequate basis for public fear, and for legislative and official activities against the right of individual and social liberty, it is quite possible that "the Red Menace" promoted in large newspapers, ought not to frighten us to death.

Now, I assert as my best judgment, grounded on this information that I can get, that more than 99 per cent. of the advertised and reported pro-German plots never existed. I think it is time that publicity was given to this view. I doubt the Red Menace having more basis in fact than the pro-German peril. I assert the significant fact that many of the same persons and newspapers that were faking pro-German plots are now promoting "The Red Terror."

Our fear of Bolshevism, not unwarranted in itself, was a godsend to patriotic hustlers and hucksters who owed their importance solely to war hysteria. Propaganda in America was indebted to Trotsky and Lenin for a new lease of life. It would have been difficult in any case to stop. The propaganda machine kept moving by its own momentum. Bolshevism furnished the excuse for crushing under its wheels any criticism of the Administration. The wheels continued to grind pacifists and conscientious objectors for years after the surrender of the Central Powers.

With the aid of the "Red Menace," professional and volunteer agitators continued to prosper in an atmosphere of hysteria. Men were sent to jail long after the Armistice under legislation intended solely

for war emergencies. Prohibition is an eternal reminder of this period. The statute books of every state conceal, dormant for the time being, laws inspired by war propaganda, which the first alarm may turn (again) into instruments of oppression.

Every belligerent employed propaganda in one form or another to liquidate the War. The famished Belgian baby, the emaciated Armenian, the German child reduced almost to a skeleton by War privations became successively the stalking horses of propaganda.

It is true that thousands, if not millions, of children in every country were doomed to atone for the sins of their fathers by wrecked constitutions. Unborn generations will continue to pay the monstrous toll. The propagandist, however, was less interested in the children than in the opportunity to exploit their misery.

France used her martial heroes in the game of propaganda. Joffre and Foch appeared in America to rekindle by their presence our flagging French sympathies. The slump in pro-French enthusiasm may be ascribed in part to the recital of soldiers returning disgruntled from France. Our natural reaction against the War was deftly directed by British propaganda to transfer our antagonism from the Germans to the country which supplanted Germany as the strongest power in Europe.

Royalty was compelled to serve the ends of post-war propaganda. The visit of Albert, King of the Belgians, and Queen Elisabeth, reminded America that "little Belgium" was still on the map. The visit of the Belgian rulers helped to dissipate the anti-Belgian prejudice that was beginning to spread in the United States. This prejudice, if unchecked, would have increased the political and financial difficulties of the Belgian Government in the long-protracted negotiations which preceded the peace settlement.

Pro-German propagandists cautiously crept out of cyclone cellars and initiated a violent campaign against the occupation of German territory by coloured troops. German and Irish societies shed joint tears over the "horrors on the Rhine." The force of those tears, gathering momentum by skilful propaganda in the South and in the national capital, eventually compelled the French Government to withdraw most of its dusky cohorts from the occupied territory. The Germans skilfully exploited the opportunity to swing American opinion against France and to reintegrate their own forces. They were aided in their campaign on "the horror on the Rhine" by the Union of Democratic Control in London.

The government of Tyrol submitted its complaints against annexation by Italy to President Harding. All the racial minorities and all the newly formed states employed publicity agents to appeal to American justice and American generosity. Most of the states succeeding the empires wrecked by the War maintain well organized propaganda bureaus to pull the wires in Washington. At times, the organizations these delegates represent work their will upon members of Congress by financing the trip to Washington of some compatriot who happens to be an American citizen and who can appeal to his own senator or representative, as a constituent. Frequently an entire committee is thus sent to advocate some cause which the propaganda chief, for some reason or other, desires to impress upon Congress. A small but energetic committee of Transylvanians, descending upon Secretary Davis, was largely responsible for the repeated postponement of the quota law restricting immigration. Items, such as these, constitute our secret history.

The propaganda for and against America's entrance into the League of Nations, still going on with almost undiminished vigour, was—and probably still is—

in the hands of numerous bodies, camouflaged with unusual cunning. E. L. Bernays describes how a "Public Relations Consultant" assisted in the formation of a "Non-Partisan Committee for the League of Nations." Under the banner of this committee women representing Democrats, Republicans, radicals, reactionaries and divers professional, industrial, and social groups, corralled by skilful manipulators, created the impression of wide-spread national support.

Indefatigable, the advocates of the League of Nations never suspended their propaganda, in spite of the overwhelming verdict rendered against them by the people in every election. Domestic idealists of great wealth supply funds for this purpose. Several foreign nations are interested in accelerating this propaganda directly or indirectly. International bankers, solicitous for their foreign investments, support the movement by hiring highly paid publicity experts and lawyers to manipulate public opinion.

No nation, it seems, may peacefully cook its own broth without foreign assistance. It is, as Professor Lasswell truly says, mere fiction that the citizens and the government of each country refrain from meddling in affairs which are technically within the competence of another. When, in the summer of 1925, the German Reichstag considered a proposal to levy protective duties upon agricultural and manufactured commodities, American manufacturers joined hands with British and French to strengthen the hands of those elements in Germany which were opposed to the legislation in question.

Such private influences, Lasswell declares, are no longer the exception but the custom. He points to the "prestige propaganda" of Nippon against Japanese exclusion, to the "myth of a single guilty nation propaganda" of the Germans, and to the "Soviet propaganda" for American recognition. Lasswell could

have embellished his list by adding the definite propaganda from all our former associates in the War to shame "Uncle Shylock" into cancelling their War debts and to the energetic campaign to whittle down the American fleet.

The agitation to influence our naval policy assumes many forms, including inspired newspaper articles, day after day, in the American press, and calculated indiscretions emanating from Downing Street. The impertinence of this propaganda exhausted even the patience of the American Government. President Coolidge protested in no uncertain terms against the attempt of foreign governments to meddle with our affairs. Departing for once from his cool detachment, the President upbraided the newspapers whose pro-British bias beclouds their American ownership.

The extent of the propaganda to destroy our navy is scarcely realized. Judge Frederick Bausman, author of *Facing Europe*, recalled to me the protest voiced at Versailles by the British First Lord of the Admiralty in a conference with Secretary Daniels. "Mr. Daniels," Judge Bausman said, "did not reveal what transpired until 1927. After the broad hint of the British sea lord, came the Hughes surrender to Balfour in 1921-2, the suppression of Kenworthy's *Peace or War?*, the visits of Beaverbrook and Rathenau to the United States, and other happenings too recent to be chronicled here."

Powerful propaganda forces are at work to despoil America of her national advantages and her national sovereignty by saccharine appeals to American idealism. All movements of this type attract both guileless idealists and sordid notoriety seekers. Upon them international finance smiles benignly. In the background hovers the League of Nations. Many American citizens, persuaded by international propaganda, contribute freely out of their own pockets to defray the expense

of foreign propaganda to make America "international-minded."

The late Charles Grant Miller, author of *The Poisoned Loving Cup*, sees Great Britain as the villain behind this plot to foist the "international mind" upon the United States. "While insidiously seeking to denationalize America and destroy our immemorial friendships with other people," Miller avers, "it incidentally strives to strengthen the nationalism of Great Britain and our allegiance to her. There is a great merit in the desire for better understanding between America and Great Britain. But better understanding can never be promoted through attempts to debase our school histories into shameful defamation of America and undue exaltation of Britain."

The Irish-Americans are convinced that the dead hand of Andrew Carnegie steers this propaganda to rob America of her national independence. Certainly a host of writers use every artifice to make America appear a prodigal daughter, for whom Britannia wants to kill the fatted calf. The Irish insist that we ourselves are the calf destined to slaughter!

The same forces which boycott our national anthem attempt to rob us of our flag. They employ no little ingenuity to perpetuate the fiction that The Star-Spangled Banner is derived from the British flag. They claim that the Star-Spangled Banner was created by cutting up the red field of the British colonial flag and substituting the stars for the Union Jack. Historians inform me that this theory is fallacious. The American flag evolved in 1777 by Betsy Ross and a Commission of Congress, owes nothing to England. The flag with thirteen stripes and the Union Jack was raised over the American army at Cambridge on January 1, 1776. But that night the Massachusetts troops derisively burned it and there is no record that it was ever again used at any other place.

There is persistent propaganda, financed by some one, to destroy our pride in our Revolutionary achievements, and to "debunk" our national saints. This tendency may represent the growth of a critical historical spirit. Unfortunately, this spirit is perverted by propaganda. It may be that our idols have feet of clay. But surely that is not the whole story. Is it fair in a historian, neglecting a splendid head or a magnificent torso, to concentrate the attention of his pupils upon the lower extremities, wrought perhaps in a baser mould?

This movement to "revise" our school histories, receives a powerful impulse from London. American historians, after being feasted and flattered in the British capital, return to eradicate from our history every vestige of the American Revolution. The expense of one such dinner to American historians furnished the subject of an inquiry in the House of Parliament on July 21, 1921. The wine of foreign applause, going to the head of some American professors, impels them to look at American history through British eyes.

The tendency to Anglicize our history burst into furious bloom during the War. British propaganda, injected into American histories, depicts George III as a "German" tyrant and strives to create the impression that the majority of the English people were in sympathy with the American colonists. Devastating silence is the lot of De Kalb and von Steuben in pro-British histories. They make much ado about the Hessians sold by their princeling to the British, while ignoring the Germans who fought on the American side, and the gallantry of the Irish.

One of the Anglicized historians says of Washington: "If you called him an American he would have thought you were using a kind of nickname. He was proud of being an Englishman." "The Continental Congress," another historian of the same persuasion asserts, "was a shameful scene of petty bickerings and schemings

among selfish, unworthy, short-sighted, narrow-minded, office-seeking and office-trading plotters."

Aside from honest bias and dishonest propaganda, there are powerful vested interests which oppose the campaign to purify our schoolbooks from the taint of alien influence. Publishers who have invested their capital in schoolbooks resent the enormous expense involved in rewriting objectionable material.

Investigations both in New York and in Chicago clearly showed the trial of the propagandist in our schoolbooks; but these revelations failed to register in the public mind, because in many instances the campaign to eradicate propaganda from the schoolbooks was exploited by local bosses for their political purposes. It was turned into a trick to gain votes in German and Irish wards. Too often the reformers themselves were tarred with the propaganda brush. They failed because they themselves did not come into court with clean hands.

III

BIG BUSINESS IN PROPAGANDA

Economic as well as political agencies try their hand at editing our newspapers and writing our schoolbooks. Unfortunately big business crosses the thin line between educational publicity and propaganda too often. If a corporation states its position frankly in advertisements and in pamphlets, its attitude is unimpeachable, but if it pays for the publication of editorials written by its press agents under the guise of independent journalism in a large number of country newspapers, or if it hires professors to lecture in colleges to feed its propaganda to students under the guise of scholarship, its conduct is reprehensible.

Selfish private interests introducing into the pub-

lie schools textbooks prepared under their direction, dealing with controversial questions in the field of economics or politics, should not be tolerated. The impropriety of the adoption of such textbooks in the schools requires, as Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana remarks, no argument, nor should disapproval of them wait on a study of their accuracy or impartiality.

The Senator introduced a measure making it unlawful to induce the use of a particular textbook or the teaching of a "doctrine, dogma, or theory with intent to influence opinion in favour of any particular Governmental action or public policy" advocated by the offender. The same measure would prohibit any person, firm, or corporation engaged in inter-state commerce from paying a teacher or school official for writing or revising a textbook. Another bill would deny second-class mailing privileges to newspapers and magazines knowingly printing any reading matter for pay or publishing reading matter furnished in substance by a large advertiser without disclosing these facts to the readers. A law already on the statute books compels newspapers to separate paid advertising from reading matter. The new law is aimed at the unpaid "puff."

Measures such as these may correct certain gross abuses in their more obvious manifestations, but any one who has followed me to this point must realize that propaganda is too ineluctable and too subtle to be thwarted by statute. It may, perhaps, be reached in some of its aspects by education.

Moved by a series of scandalous incidents to pervert our schoolbooks, the secretary of the National Education Association brands propaganda in the public schools as "a crime against youth." The president of the American Federation of Teachers denounces it as "the greatest crime against civilization." Distinguished educators, including Professor John Dewey,

formed a committee to save the schools from propaganda. The organization is committed to no economic creed. Its sole purpose is to defeat the dangerous attacks on our schools and colleges and to establish upon a firm foundation the essential American principle that American schools and colleges are not to be considered as fields for propaganda of special interests, groups, or causes. The committee enunciates a "Monroe Doctrine" for American schools!

It is along such lines that propaganda can be combated more effectively than by law. However, the danger always exists that a committee of this type, no matter how well intentioned, may itself become entangled in some form of propaganda.

In the early part of the battle against prohibition the brewers and allied interests stamped upon every check they issued the legend "a check against prohibition." The lords of lager beer and the masters of distilled spirits, unfortunately for themselves, fought not merely prohibition, but every sensible attempt to regulate the liquor traffic and the saloon. Their propaganda was not very subtle. Since those days methods have changed. To-day propaganda camouflages itself more skilfully. When meat packers, fashion experts, and cigarette manufacturers enlist scientific testimony to serve their purpose, who can draw the line between the permissible and the forbidden?

In some cases the testimony of professional men is obviously purchased. In others it may be an expression of honest scientific convictions. It may be good science even if its vendor is venal. The complaisant young scholar or the star or the doctor whose testimony is exploited commercially may receive no present emolument. But he may expect future gratifications. Or he may consider himself amply paid by the large publicity given to his utterances by the huge financial powers which use his testimony as propaganda.

An American essayist attempts to prove our descent from the monkey by the fact that our civilization is based upon chatter. He holds that chatter is the characteristic which we have inherited from our simian forebears. Our Hall of Fame is a chatterbox. To be heard above the chatter is the mark of fame. To speak over the radio, to see one's face in display advertising, these are triumphs of celebrity. Can we censure men whose life breath is applause, if they sacrifice moral integrity for dividends in notoriety?

How easy it is to lull our conscience to sleep! We are never at loss for ingenious excuses for our ethical lapses.

The other day I dined with a great opera singer whose picture is familiar to the world through innumerable newspaper advertisements endorsing a brand of cigarettes which, for the present purpose we may call "Buddies."

After dinner I courteously offered the artist a cigarette of his favourite brand.

The great singer shook his head.

"But no," he said, "I do not smoke."

"You do not smoke, signor?"

"No."

"But I saw your picture in all the papers with an endorsement of 'Buddies.'"

"Ah, yes," he smiled. "But did you read what I said? I said: 'Buddies never hurt my throat.' They don't. I never indulge in smoking!"

Not only artists, but soldiers and athletes frequently endorse articles which, whatever may be said in their favour, lack the salutary values of which they boast. The effect of such endorsements by popular heroes upon the health of the young generation is deleterious. It is equally harmful to their own moral integrity.

Commercial propaganda vitally affects our health, our pocketbook, and our habits of life. We are pushed

hither and thither by conflicting interests sponsoring diverse styles and commodities. Campaigns for certain styles are unadulterated propaganda. First the barbers persuaded our ladies to bob their hair. Then the propaganda of hair net manufacturers prompted many to let it grow long again. Inveigled by propaganda, some women risk their health and their beauty to approximate certain slim patterns of fashion. Counter propaganda, inspired by other interests, persuades them to put on fat! Their nerves are ground, not between two conflicting ideals, but between two propagandas promulgated with consummate skill by different groups of merchants and manufacturers! The price of homely commodities such as bacon or liver fluctuates in accordance with the intensity of the propaganda which proscribes or prescribes their consumption!

Frequently the inventors of new fads and fashions disguise their propaganda as news. It appears between cable despatches and editorials. Nothing warns us that we are dealing with the systematic attempt of special interests, camouflaging their real intentions, to sway public opinion. Several organizations have built up a profitable business by selling "boiler plate material" to thousands of newspapers at a nominal rate. The expense of distribution is borne neither by the purchaser nor by the agency. It is paid for by interested parties whose identity is revealed neither to the newspaper nor to the public. This method debauches thousands of small newspapers. Nevertheless, it is difficult to stop it, especially if, under the guidance of shrewd attorneys and shrewd accountants, the distributors of such material eschew certain obvious pitfalls.

It is often impossible for an editor to recognize the sources of tainted material. The source of tainted material may not always be tainted itself. A great charity organization of international renown receives

much space in the press. The story of its campaigns is recited in special articles. Its "flimsies" do not, as a rule, descend into the waste-paper basket. But those in charge of its promotion, not content with this legitimate publicity, pay special feature writers varying sums, usually fifty dollars, for any surreptitious mention of their organization.

Publicity men on their pay roll contrive the most ingenious devices to serve their master. If one of the fraternity writes an article on the Einstein theory or on the Moon, he racks his brain for an opportunity to introduce some observation on the activities of the organization in question. Unless the editorial blue pencil deletes the reference, he is assured of fifty dollars, which may be more than the amount which the newspaper pays him. This is undoubtedly propaganda. The writer conceals both his intention and his inspiration. His object is not to instruct the reader on some obscure phase of curved time-space, or the topography of the moon, but to stimulate interest in the work of his secret employer.

Both the editor printing the article and the reader are innocent victims of the propagandist. If the editor knew of the clandestine arrangement he would probably "kill" the article and kick the writer downstairs. Having no reason to suspect his contributor, the editor has no way of protecting himself and his public.

Advertising is at times less effective than surreptitious publicity. Moreover, it is often cheaper to buy a writer than to purchase advertising space. Thus business men and politicians are sometimes tempted to deceive the public with propaganda masquerading as news. Sometimes, as we have seen, the astute "public relations counsel" of a big corporation hitches his propaganda wagon to a star in the theatrical or musical firmament. At other times he hitches it to a "sacred cow." A "sacred cow," in newspaper parlance, is

a prominent citizen who must never be roughly handled. Every time the "sacred cow" moos it makes news. The opinions of citizens thus privileged are eagerly sought. It is easy for the "sacred cow" to intersperse its statements with economic and political propaganda. Every clever propagandist keeps a herd of "sacred cows."

IV

THE REMEDY

The human mind greedily swallows the dope of the men who buy and sell public opinion. Is there an antidote against this poison? Can we prescribe an "antidope" against the "dope" of the propagandist?

Many remedies have been proposed. Some claim that the cure for propaganda is more propaganda. This is true only in a limited sense. Two propagandas, like two adders fighting, may kill each other. Usually they merely bewilder their victims. Propaganda and counter propaganda inculcate mental confusion or they induce a morbid cynicism, which disbelieves everything.

Bertrand Russell suggests a disarmament conference to demobilize national propaganda. However, no nation will surrender the weapon of propaganda. Governments may consign battleships to the scrap heap, but they will not forgo the privilege of manipulating opinion. Our entire social fabric rests too much upon the consent of the governed to dispense with propaganda.

"You are too harsh in your judgment of propaganda," the Master Propagandist who spun the web of British War publicity in the United States with such uncanny skill, remarked to me with a subtle smile.

"Propaganda, in war time especially, is not always pretty, but it is an essential weapon, like poison gas. Propaganda," he added thoughtfully, "in peace and war is a corollary of democracy. The more democratic a country is, the more propaganda it needs. That was one reason for the excesses of propaganda in the United States."

The field of propaganda widens as illiteracy disappears. To-day the printer's devil joins hands with the radio imp. Wireless transmission lends wings to propaganda. We can no longer escape it even on a desert island. It is with us in mid-ocean. It accompanies us to the pole. As our means of intercommunication increase, their abuse will also increase.

Propaganda will play an ever growing part in human relations. The world is defenceless against propaganda hiding under such virtuous cloaks as respectability, prosperity, humanity, finance and patriotism. We can legislate against its most obvious abuses, but no lawgiver can ensnare its more subtle manifestations.

Though education is a valuable antidote, sharpening our critical faculty, we have seen how easily the educator himself is victimized by propaganda. Relentless vigilance is the price of intellectual freedom. Even the most conscientious propaganda foe must daily purge his mind and, like the psycho-analyst, analyze his own motives unmercifully, to retain the lucidity of his vision. The educated mind is susceptible to propaganda because it is accustomed to accepting too many premises. Professional magicians are more afraid of an audience of schoolboys than of an audience of scholars. The propagandist has more to fear from the censorship of common sense than from the accumulated wisdom of the professors.

If the law has too many meshes, if education is not enough, common sense must be our shield, laughter our weapon, in the unequal battle against propaganda.

We must learn to recognize the traps of the propagandists. Though domestic propaganda usually masks its guns behind a barrage of fine words, it invariably conceals a raid on the private purse or the public treasury. Foreign propaganda may be recognized by the fact that it almost always demands some sacrifice of our sovereignty or our rights without exacting the same price from its employers.

We can guard ourselves against propaganda by evolving a defensive mechanism similar to the defence which the modern man builds up against supersalesmanship. The prospect who surrenders resistlessly to the patter of every high-power salesman can save himself from the poorhouse by developing sales resistance. The man whose brain absorbs every suggestion of the propagandist finds himself intellectually bankrupt, unless he acquires propaganda resistance.

The propagandist gets you if you don't watch out! We can escape from the clutches of propaganda if we listen for the click of its concealed machinery. Once the trick by which we are fooled is explained to us, we shall not again be the juggler's victims. We can train ourselves to extract the kernel of the truth from the husks of falsehood. We must learn to scrutinize all news critically and to analyze our reactions. This, with common sense, will help us to detect domestic propaganda. An ideal antitoxin against propaganda from without is a rugged sense of Americanism.

During the Great War, propaganda, like a gigantic upas tree, dripped its poison over all nations. We should be able to identify the poison without a label. When, hereafter, we are exhorted to hate a nation, let us remember the crucified Canadian soldier, the armless Belgian baby, the *Kadavererverwertungsanstalt*, and the propaganda rabbits in Dr. Albert's portfolio.

We can defeat propagandists by laughing out of court those who preach hate, the historians who falsify

history, and the blatant politicians appealing to our most primitive instincts under the guise of idealism. Nor should we forget in what perilous measure our own conscious and subconscious desires leap forward to aid and abet the propagandist who preaches a gospel which, for the moment, we wish to embrace.

New crises will produce new forms of manipulating public opinion. Law, education, a knowledge of the past, even a knowledge of ourselves, I repeat, is no infallible safeguard against propaganda. There are times when neither logic nor knowledge can resist the hypnotic beat of the tom-tom. No one is entirely propaganda-immune, even as no one entirely escapes all children's diseases. The forms of propaganda are too mutable. Its approach is too cunning. It is more insidious than malaria, more deadly than the plague. But if we inoculate ourselves with the serum of horse sense and of humour we can, within modest bounds, impose a limit on its ravages.

Beyond that, I know no prescription.

APPENDIX



PICTORIAL PROPAGANDA

HE who runs may read, and he who reads may run—from propaganda. Not only pens and pencils drip venom under the influence of war psychosis. Even the camera lies! If it tells the truth, the picture is distorted by mendacious captions or it is retouched cunningly by experts to erase tell-tale marks. Then the picture is rephotographed and the camera does its share to perpetuate the falsehood.

In most cases, it is not the camera that lies, but the man who writes the captions. Pictures of the Russian pogroms of 1906 reappeared in France and in the United States as records of German "atrocities" in the World War. Reminiscences of horrors committed by Belgians in the Congo were dished up as the work of the "Hun" in Belgium. Harmless photographs of German officers with hunting trophies changed—presto!—into the pictures of Teutons loaded with French loot.

A picture of the Crown Prince standing at the side of his father, smoking a cigar, is distorted into the snapshot of a serious quarrel between the Kaiser and his imperial heir. By erasing the cigar, the retouch man creates the impression that the Prince is raising his hand against his father.

The Germans, equally eager to discredit their opponents, reproduced pictures of innocent protests in a local market against an increase in the price of

bread as violent anti-war riots in the United States. A photograph showing Captain Koenig standing near a stone pile in the camp where he was interned, was used by German propaganda to exploit the falsehood that German prisoners of war were compelled to work in American stone quarries!

In selecting my pictorial material, I faced an embarrassment of riches. For valuable advice in making up my selection, I am especially indebted to Lieutenant Colonel Kendall Banning, now in civil life. In the early days of the war, Colonel Banning organized and directed the Division of Pictures of the Committee on Public Information, more commonly known as the "Creel Committee." In that capacity, he took an active part in organizing the artists and photographers of the United States for war services. Later, as an officer of the General Staff, he was in charge of important phases of the War Department's pictorial propaganda and military censorship activities, and compiled the official pictorial record of the World War.

The first inquiry made by visitors to the confidential files of the General Staff, Colonel Banning observes in a recital of his experiences, was for "atrocities pictures." The visitors' regard for the pictorial records of the War, underwent a noticeable slump when the files produced no photographs of Belgian children with mutilated hands, no mutilated Red Cross nurses, nor Canadian sergeants hanging crucified on trees!

No peep behind the scenes of the census sanctum was satisfying to the layman without such a pictorial chamber of horrors. Authentic photographs of this type, Colonel Banning explains (in *Collier's*) are exceedingly rare. The few that are available in the American collection were obtained almost entirely from foreign sources. Several views of slain men, women and children came from Serbia and Armenia. Some were circulated by war relief organizations to arouse sympathy

for civilian sufferers. Both the French and the English distributed such pictures as records of "Hun brutality." "It is difficult at best," concludes Colonel Banning, summarizing his experience, "to accept photographs as proofs of atrocities. Mere views of dead women and children do not necessarily prove the enemy's disregard of the rules of warfare; indeed, such pictures do not prove even that the dead were victims of war at all. Pathetic as a photograph of a ruined church or home may be, it does not show the circumstances of the ruination, nor is it even evidence that it was ruined by the enemy."

Banning's collection includes 500,000 separate items. By a curious irony of fate, the War Department refused to release the pictures Colonel Banning selected for me from this enormous compilation. It is contrary to the policy of the Department to sanction the dissemination of any matter calculated to offend our former foes. I am delighted to chronicle this fact here, even if the decision deprives me of valuable illustrations.

Fortunately for my purpose, several of the desired pictures were secured from other sources including a number of Liberty Loan posters, etc. It was the Liberty Loan campaign which, in the opinion of Colonel House, officially introduced hatred into American War Propaganda, contrary to the declared wishes of President Wilson. The scholar in the White House was compelled to realize that war cannot be waged with kid gloves!

Dr. Joseph Broadman, who possesses the largest private collection of war posters and publications, courteously placed his resources at my disposal. I am particularly grateful for Dr. Broadman's file of *Cartoon's*, a magazine published during the War, which, strangely enough, cannot be found in the New York Public Library, although it preserves much that is historically of inestimable value.



FROM THE AVENARIUS COLLECTION

A Conference of the Crown Prince and the Kaiser photographed by A. Gross in Berlin. The Crown Prince holds his cigar away from the Kaiser so as to shield him from the smoke.



Le Matin of February 1, 1915, reprints this picture but gives it a sinister twist by erasing the cigar. It now appears as if the Crown Prince were about to strike his father. The faces of the entourage as well as the principals are rebuffed to express acrimony. The gesture of the Crown Prince, says the French paper, "is significant." The faces of the staff "smile ironically."

I take this opportunity to thank Mr. A. Paul Maerker-Branden for his assistance in unearthing illustrative material. The stupendous collection of war clippings of every description compiled by Mr. Otto Spengler for the New York Historical Society is another important source for the study of war psychosis. Acknowledgments are due to the Century Company for permission to reprint a number of pictures by the most gifted and the most bitter of the war cartoonists, Louis Raemaker.

Two German books—*Das Bild als Verleumder* and *Die Mache im Weltwahn* by Ferdinand Avenarius, are gold mines of information, upon which I have freely drawn.

I was unable to procure the original photographs used by General Charteris when, by a swift exchange of captions, he created the legend of the Factory for the Utilization of Corpses (*Kadaververwertungsanstalt*). But I discovered a cartoon in *Punch* which serves my purpose. Photographic reproductions of the Crucified Canadian and the Belgian baby with severed hands were unobtainable for the simple reason that the atrocities in question were sheer inventions of war propaganda and war psychosis. No such picture is on file in the records of the Canadian War Office.*

I avoided pictures in which the element of horror was unredeemed by a touch of art, or I would have reprinted from the collection of Avenarius the faked photograph of a child with pitiful little stumps of arms dripping blood.

We have no right to quarrel with the artist for taking up brush or pencil in the defence of his country or the defence of what, under the hypnotic spell of mass suggestion, he believes to be the sacred cause of "humanity." Nor can we blame the propagandist if he harnesses art to his chariot. A deft cartoon is

* See page 277.

more telling than the most realistic news articles or the most fervid editorial.

I hesitate to reproduce some cartoons because what will remain in the reader's mind will not be my explanation showing the propagandist guiding the artist's pencil, but the cartoon itself. If the reader questions himself on this point he will receive an object lesson in the effectiveness of pictorial propaganda.

The moving picture is even more instant than the cartoon or the photograph in its effect on the emotions. Mr. Creel inspired a number of pictures carrying the message of the American Government to the world. Of those I speak on another page. Uncle Sam not merely dictated what must appear on the silver screen. He deleted any scene or any picture likely to dampen war enthusiasm. The freedom of the screen disappeared even before the freedom of speech. I have already referred to the motion picture, "Patria" which was withdrawn in its entirety. "The Curse of Iku," produced by Essanay, "American Spirit" (W. W. Hodkinson Corporation) and "Hari Kari" (Southern California Producing Corporation) were regarded as objectionable either because they "tended to represent citizens of friendly nations as villains," or because they were suspected of embodying "pacifist propaganda."

Few great producers escaped Uncle Sam's blue pencil or his pruning shears. "War Brides" (Selznick) featuring Madame Nazomova, and "Womanhood—the Glory of the Nation" (Vitagraph) were censored on the ground of "pacifism." "They Rode Through the Dark" (Selznick) was considered objectionable because it was regarded as "pro-German" propaganda. "A Girl of To-day" (Vitagraph) was strictured because it was looked upon as "anti-British." "For the Freedom of the East," was considered anti-Chinese. China was one of the Allies! "The Public Be Damned,"

offended the sensibilities of the Food Administration. "Hearts of Men" (Pathé) intended for circulation in Central America, was snuffed out as "anti-American." "Why America Will Win" (William Fox) suffered the same fate on the ground that it was "anti-French."

Under those circumstances, moving picture producers were constrained to concentrate on War films. Ambassador Gerard's "My Four Years in Germany" was used to arouse our fighting spirit. Here is the advertisement of Mr. Gerard's film as it appeared in the New York press :

AMERICA NEXT!

said the German War Lord

Come to the
KNICKERBOCKER THEATRE
38th St. & Bway
and see what I answered for you.

Ambassador JAMES W. GERARD'S
My Four Years in Germany

directed by Wm. Nigh.
Twice daily, 2.30 & 8.30

Even more sensational was "The Kaiser," generally featured as "The Beast of Berlin." "Thank God," said Burr MacIntosh, "little old New York has got nerve enough to call the Kaiser just what he is—the beast of Berlin!" "The picture," states an advertisement in the metropolitan press, "will make 100,000,000 Americans' blood boil. If you're a red-blooded American with a fighting spirit, you will cheer like mad at the startling exposé of the

real Kaiser." The *Billboard* said of the blood-boiling apocalyptic picture: "It is powerful, it is convincing, it is worthy of the history-making age which has produced it. It moves one to tears, it stirs one's patriotism, and it brings a prayer to one's lips." The critic dwells on the authenticity of the picture, which, we are told, conforms with almost absolute fidelity to the truth.

"The picture is made strong by the contrasts which are drawn. It opens with some charming pictures of pastoral life, the happy, simple every-day existence of the people of Belgium. It brings the audience intimately into the home life of Marcas, the blacksmith of Louvain. Thus far the picture is the essence of poetry.

"Then is shown the Kaiser in the atmosphere of imperialism. He comes before the audience like a black cloud across a sunlit sky. Then comes the rape of Belgium—a screen chapter written in blood, fire and horror. In a most dramatic way all the big events leading to America's entry into the war are touched upon and an audience's patriotic impulses are worked up to a fever pitch long before the big climax comes. The author finally invades the future, landing the Allied troops in Berlin and turning the Kaiser over a prisoner to King Albert of Belgium. Then he finds himself jailed with a formidable jailer in the person of the same humble blacksmith of Louvain who figured so prominently in the early part of the story."

It is useless to drag the moving pictures created by war psychosis from the oblivion to which they have been consigned by the producers themselves, except for the historical and psychological lesson they convey.

It is pleasant to note that the same company which presented "The Beast of Berlin" in 1918, sponsored in 1930 "All Quiet on the Western Front." In the

place of a picture to engender war hatred, it now produces a drama engendering hatred of war. I hope my book will serve a similar purpose. I discuss and reproduce the spawn of war psychosis in this volume, not to stir up the embers of old hates, but as a perpetual reminder of how war and war propaganda can unhinge human reason and throw the time out of joint.

II

THE MYTHICAL CROWN COUNCIL

I applied to Emperor William II himself for elucidation on the subject of the Crown Council. The Kaiser replied by sending me the definition of the Crown Council which appears in the second volume of Bornhak's *Preussisches Staatsrecht* (Prussian Constitutional Law).

"The organization of the Ministry of State which partly, at least, supplanted the State Council projected by Stein, is based upon a cabinet order of June 3, 1814, complemented by the cabinet order of November 3, 1817, regarding the administration of the superior governmental authorities. The Ministry of State comprises the executives in charge of the new State Ministries and ministers of state without portfolio. The latter have no ministry of their own; they are only members of the Ministry of State as a whole. Generally ministers without portfolio are selected from the more important executives of the Federal Government in order to establish by this means a liaison between the policy of the Prussian state and the Federal Government. The King himself may preside over the meeting of the Ministry of State; in that case the conference is called a Crown Council. This happens only at important political conferences. Generally the Ministry of State meets in the absence of the King."

By order of Emperor William II, his aide, Baron M. von Sell, placed at my disposal a copy of a German pamphlet entitled *The Potsdam Crown Council, History and Legend* by the historian Kurt Jagow. Baron von Sell adds that the diary of His Majesty's aide de camp, reprinted in Dr. Jagow's monograph, lists all the persons to whom His Majesty talked on July 5th and 6th, 1914. Only three of the persons received by His Majesty in those critical days would have been entitled to participate in the meeting of a Crown Council—namely Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg; General von Falkenhayn, the Prussian Minister of War; and Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, Herr Zimmerman, representing the absent Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gottlieb von Jagow. "Consequently," concludes Baron von Sell, "Mr. Morgenthau's statement that many of the people who conferred with the Emperor on July 5th were those who would have been at the Crown Council had one taken place is also erroneous."

III

THE CRUCIFIED CANADIAN

The Crucified Canadian can be found only in the imagination of the propagandists and in the drawings of Bellows. Occasionally he takes the shape of a Crucified American on the Toul front.

In 1919 the *Illustrated London News* reproduced, under the title, *Golgotha*, a sculpture group from the Canadian War Memorial Exhibition, by Captain Derwent Wood, A.R.A. The sculpture shows a soldier in Canadian uniform nailed upon the door of a ruined house, while German soldiers taunt his agony.

In view of the official character of the exhibit, the

German Government immediately protested and called upon the British authorities to produce the evidence upon which the story of the crucified soldier rests. The British Government thereupon transmitted the sworn testimony of two English soldiers who claimed to have seen, on the 21st or 23rd of April 1915, south-west of St. Julien in Belgium, the corpse of a Canadian soldier fastened with bayonets to a barn door. Upon investigation it appeared that the south-west portion of St. Julien was occupied by the Germans neither before nor after the date in question. As a result of this investigation, the cast was banished from the War Memorial Exhibition in Ottawa.

No trace of the crucified soldier appears in the files of the Canadian War Office. I append herewith an official statement I received from the Department of National Defence in Ottawa. In spite of all disavowals, the myth of the Crucified Canadian will continue to haunt the imagination of men to be resuscitated in the next war.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

(MILITIA SERVICE)

Ottawa, Canada.

29th April, 1930.

Dear Sir:—

I have for acknowledgment, your letter of 22nd instant in which information is requested regarding pictures of the crucifixion of Canadian soldiers during the Great War.

In reply thereto, I wish to inform you that there are no drawings or photographs of the alleged crucifixion of Canadian Soldiers available in this Department.

Yours Faithfully,

(G. J. DESBARATS)
Deputy Minister.

Mr. Roosevelt's attitude on the infringements of both groups of belligerents on American rights is

reflected in the following statement, made privately and confidentially, to Arthur Garfield Hays on June 22, 1915.

"Thank you for your letter, which I appreciate. Of course, if I had been president, I would have made all the belligerents respect our rights! Germany has been most scandalously disregarding of them; but England has also disregarded them. The point is that you cannot make one power which is the less serious offender come to time if you do not at first halt the more serious offender."

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